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GENERAL PATRICK GORDON
BISHOP ROBERT KILGOUR
HONOURABLE THOMAS SMITH
SIR HUGH GILZEAN-REID
DOCTOR ALEXANDER BRUCE

BY

Rev. ADAM MACKAY, B.D.,

Minister of Queen's Park, Glasgow;

Author of "Cruden and its Ministers," "Three Scots Bishops," etc.

"One great aim, like a guiding star above,
Which tasked strength, wisdom, stateliness, to lift
Their manhood to the height that takes the prize."

—R. Browning.

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1922.

"Heaven's rich instincts in her grew
As effortless as woodland nooks
Send violets up, and paint them blue."

TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY WIFE,

KATIE FORREST LAWRENCE;

Born at Lonmay, Aberdeenshire,

9th June, 1885;

Died at Glasgow, 3rd October, 1918.

"God is Love."

"The district was no paradise of ease and luxury. . . . Most of the inhabitants had to be content with the essentials of existence. . . . . But many finely formed characters flowered forth in this ungenial soil, and many a brilliant career owed its shaping impetus to strict but wholesome early training."

—Rev. Andrew Chalmers,

"Buchan in my Boyhood."

PREFACE.

THE publication of this book has been long delayed. When "Cruden and its Ministers" appeared in 1912, the suggestion was made to me that I should publish a similar volume on the "Distinguished Sons" of the parish; and in 1914 most of the materials for such a book had been placed in my hands. During the course of that year I wrote an article on Bishop Robert Kilgour to commemorate the bi-centenary of his birth ("Scottish Chronicle," 13th March, 1914); and also a lecture on General Patrick Gordon for the Buchan Club, which was published in 1915 in the "Transactions" of that Society. My transference to Glasgow in June of that year, however, and my absence in France during two winters on war service, turned all my activities into other channels. In 1918 I succeeded in publishing a fuller account of Bishop Kilgour's life in my little book on "Three Scots Bishops"; but as I explained in the preface, even the research necessary for that publication "was carried out by me for the most part while still minister of Cruden."

Since the close of the war (or rather since my own demobilisation in April, 1919) I have again essayed the task of writing an account of Cruden's Distinguished Sons, and the results of my labours I now place before the public. The five heroes dealt with, though belonging to the same parish, lived at very different periods, and had very different fortunes. Gordon was a warrior, born in the days of the Stuart Dynasty, and condemned to exile for his faith. Kilgour was a Churchman, of the Disestablished Episcopal Church, who lived during the time of that Church's fiercest persecution. Smith devoted himself to the study of law, and having chosen America for his home in the days of that country's infancy, became something of a figure in the legal world there. The other two names are quite modern. Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid was the able and successful journalist, who is best known to fame perhaps for the fact that he launched the first half-penny daily newspaper; and Dr Alexander Bruce was the distinguished physician and nerve specialist, who founded the "Review of Neurology and Psychiatry," and whose valuable life ended all too soon.

The treatment of these men's careers in the following pages varies about as greatly as their careers themselves; and for two reasons—that the materials at my disposal have been of such diverse description; and that sources of information were as plentiful in some cases, as in others they were painfully lacking.

In the case of Gordon, I had the advantage of the Spalding Club edition of his "Diary," and of various synopses of his life which have appeared from time to time in histories, etc.; and the account given here is practically the same as that which appears in my published lecture in the "Transactions of the Buchan Club." It is merely corrected and supplemented from various hints which have been given me by John Malcolm Bulloch, Esq., Editor of "The Graphic," to whom I am also indebted for the genealogical table of Gordon's family.

In the case of Kilgour, I have rewritten almost in entirety the life story given in "Three Scots Bishops." I found so much interesting matter relative to his ministry at Peterhead in the Rev. Canon Wilkinson's "Church History in Buchan," that I considered my previous narrative both inadequate and misleading; and in order to weave into it the facts which he so lucidly sets forth, I had not only to rewrite portions, but to have recourse largely to "scissors and paste." Miss Dowden of Edinburgh, besides reading my narrative in MS. and correcting several statements of fact, also helped me greatly by calling my attention to the papers relating to the Seabury Consecration which appeared in the "Scottish Church Review" for 1884, and by transcribing for me Kilgour's "Letters of Orders," etc., which appear in the Appendix.

The life of the Honourable Thomas Smith is really a summary of Burton Alva Konkle's exhaustive biography—"Thomas Smith, a Member of the Continental Congress of America, and a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." The only additional fact which I have been able to glean is the date of Smith's birth, which I had the good fortune to find in the Baptismal Register of Cruden (preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh). But Konkle's book, valuable though it is, is so hopelessly packed with meticulous and irrelevant information, (e.g., accounts of every survey conducted by Smith, and of every debate in which he ever recorded a vote) that it presents problems of its own. I found that I had not only to wade through its pages carefully, but also to keep an eye on contemporary

American history, before I could either get a correct perspective of his life, or pick out the salient facts.

In writing the life of Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid, I had as a groundwork the very interesting account of his career which appeared in the "North Eastern Gazette" on the occasion of his death; and the autobiographical chapters entitled "In the Days of my Youth," which were contributed by him to "M.A.P." in 1900. But the members of his family also came to my aid, indicating several sources of information unsuspected by me, and unearthing many letters written and received by Sir Hugh. Their guidance indeed has been invaluable, for from intimate knowledge they were able both to supplement my narrative, and to correct the angle of vision where a wrong impression had been conveyed.

Similar help was afforded me in writing Dr Alexander Bruce's life. Indeed his son, Dr Ninian Bruce of Edinburgh, interested himself from the outset; and placed at my disposal not only all the materials he possessed for a biography of his father, but his own ripe judgment in the matter of their arrangement and classification. He also secured for me the assistance of distinguished neurologists, who were capable of estimating the worth of his father's work, and his place as a pioneer in neurological research; and I have to thank more than one member of the medical profession for kindly appreciation and encouragement, for helpful criticisms and suggestions, and for scientific data which, without their aid, I could never have brought to light.

Despite the help which I have thus received, I am far from satisfied with what I have written, and am fully conscious of many imperfections which lurk in the following pages. Apart from the difficulties which I have mentioned, it has been almost impossible for me, amid the exacting demands of a city charge, to obtain leisure for that detachment of mind which I consider well nigh essential for good literary work; and I can only hope that the interest of my theme may compensate in measure, both for defects of style, and for such errors as might have been avoided. The stories here told are certainly telling illustrations of the truth that true success in life is conditioned neither by birth nor riches; and if the perusal of these men's lives should stir any of the young people in my former parish, or elsewhere, to copy their virtues and to emulate their example, I shall consider that my labours have not been altogether in vain. These men not

only "got on in life." Their achievement was something nobler—they got on to the *right things*.

My thanks are also due to the Rev. Richard Bell, B.D., Lecturer on Arabic in the University of Edinburgh, who has added to former kindnesses by reading the whole of the proof-sheets; and to many others without whose aid this book could not have been written. Nor must I forget the "material" help afforded by the Carnegie Trustees, who have generously guaranteed, if the need should arise, to meet to a certain extent any loss which may result from publication.

ADAM MACKAY.

Queen's Park Manse,
Glasgow, *August*, 1922.

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General Patrick Gordon.

"A Scottish Soldier of Fortune (one gets tired of hearing him described as 'a regular Dugald Dalgetty') made, somewhat unwillingly in his latter years, a considerable name in the Russian service from 1661 to his death. This was General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, known among the Russians as Patrick Ivanovitch."

A. Francis Steuart,
Scottish Influences in Russian History.

"The poor youth, who endures all that is endured by the beggar's brat (except that he will not beg), rises to an eminence which in power and external pomp, far excels that of the greatest nobles in his own poor but free country. Covered with many honours and decorations of the . . . court of the Czar—invested with vast estates and feudal powers —he becomes more like a petty sovereign than a subject."

John Hill Burton,
The Scot Abroad.

GENERAL PATRICK GORDON

General Patrick Gordon,

Birth and Education.

Patrick Gordon was born at Easter Auchleuchries, in the Parish of Cruden, on 31st March, 1635, being Easter Day.* His father was John Gordon, proprietor of the lands of Auchleuchries, and a scion of the Gordons who afterwards became Earls of Aberdeen: and his mother was Mary Ogilvie, who was descended from the Ogilvies of Blarak.† Both were Roman Catholics of sincere persuasion; and to this fact we can trace many of the vicissitudes in Gordon's fortunes and many of his loyalties, for he embraced their faith and was a true son of the Roman Catholic Church.

In his sixth year he was sent to school "at the kirk of Crochdan" (Cruden), the distance from home being so great that it was necessary for his parents to secure board and lodging for him near the school:‡ but as they removed four years afterwards, first to Auchreddy (New Deer), and then to Auchmaud, he was transferred to the parish school at Ellon. In 1648, however, his father returned to Cruden to his own property at Westertown of Auchleuchries. Accordingly he was sent back again to the school at Cruden, and remained there till 1651.

Leaves Home.

Life's first and main problem presented itself in that year—What was he to do when he left school? His faith made it impossible for him to go to the University, and also prevented him from entering any public profession. The family fortunes did not admit of his being idle (he was "the younger sone of a younger brother of a younger house"), and his own inclinations were all towards an active and industrious life. So—to give the other reasons that influenced his decision in his own frank words—"partly to dissolve the bonds

*See Appendix A—His Diary

†See Appendix B—His Parentage.

‡ "A.D. 1640.—I was sent to the schoole at the kirk of Crochdan on Lambe masse day, and put to lodge and dyet by a widdow called Margaret Allan, my schoolmaster being William Logon." *Diary*, p. 4. His other Cruden schoolmasters were Alexander Fraser (1648) and Andrew Browne (1649-51). In all he spent seven years at the school of Cruden.

of a youthful affection wherein I was entangled by banishing myself from the object, partly to obtain my liberty which I foundly conceited to be restrained by the careful inspection of my loving parents, . . . I resolved to go to some foreign country." He cared little, he tells us, to what shores he went, as he had no known friend anywhere to whom he could look for help.

Accordingly he bade the family circle an affectionate good-bye, and setting sail from Aberdeen on 3rd June, 1651, with a merchant vessel bound for Danzig, he arrived there after various delays on 20th July. In company with a Mr Menzies, whose brother was a priest in the Jesuit college at Braunsberg, he went to Braunsberg, and studied there for other two years. It was a beautiful spot. He was well cared for and well taught. But the austerity and stillness of the life were not to his liking, and in 1653 he resolved to leave.

Early Difficulties.

His first intention had been to return home. With difficulty, however, he made his way to Danzig, only to find that his money was all gone and that no ship was likely to sail for England for many months.* Certain countrymen whom he met ridiculed the idea of his returning, and suggested that he should become a merchant. Against that suggestion his pride rebelled; but another suggestion

*His fortunes never were at a lower ebb than at this time, and on his journey to Danzig he was very melancholy. One passage in which he describes his feelings is worthy of reproduction—it shows so clearly the religious undercurrent of his mind: — "After I had gone a pretty way into the wood, and doubting whether I was right or not, I began with serious thoughts to consider my present condition, calling to mind from whence I was come, from my most loving parents and friends, and where I was now, among strangers whose language I understood not, travelling myself knew not whither, haveing but seven dollars by me which could not last long, and when that was gone I knew not where to get a farthing more for the great journey and voyage which I intended. To serve or work I thought it a disparagement, and to begg a greater. With those and such like thoughts I grew so pensive and sadd, that, sitting downe, I began to lament and bewaile my miserable condition. Then, haveing my recourse to God Almighty, I, with many teares, implored his assistance, cravving also the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints in heaven. Then getting up, I went forward, continuing in prayer with great fervency, when on a suddaine, from the right hand, came an old man riding, whose gray haires might exact and force reverence from the haughtiest heart. He, seeing me crying, in crossing my way said to me in Dutch, which I understood so: Cry not my child; God will comfort you. I was very astonished at his suddaine appearance and words, and also ashamed that any body should see me in such a plight. However, keeping on my way, I began to recollect myself, and to think that God had sent this old man of purpose to divert me from such passionate fitts; the conceit whereof made me rouse up myself and walke on more cheerfully. And truly, as well now as many times hereafter, when in my necessities or any extremity I betook myself to God Almighty by prayer, I found His extraordinary assistance."—*Diary*, pp. 8 and 9.

which they made, that he should go to Culm and seek out the help of a kinsman whom they knew to be there, was eagerly followed by him. He seems indeed to have spent the whole of the winter of 1653 at Culm. In the spring of the following year he made up his mind to enlist in the Polish service in a Scottish Regiment under Duke Ian Radzivill. With that purpose he made his way in company with a fellow countryman—John Dick by name—to Warsaw; but there he learned to his grief that Duke Ian Radzivill, instead of desiring more recruits, was disbanding those already in his service, and that it was hopeless to go further. Much depressed in spirits, he made his way to Posen; and having been recommended by several Scotsmen there as companion to a young nobleman called Oppalinsky who was about to complete his education by foreign travel, he had the luck to accompany his suite as far as Hamburg. At that city his services were dispensed with, so he resolved once more that he would return home.

Joins Swedish Army.

While, however, he waited at Hamburg for a boat, fortune threw in his way the opportunity which decided that he was to be a soldier. A Rittmaster* Garden in the service of the ambitious Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, came to Hamburg looking for recruits: and Gordon, learning of his presence in the city, and thinking he might be a relation—the name was sufficiently similar to admit of a mistake—called upon him. He found him in company with other officers, all in the Swedish service; and they literally laid siege to Gordon in order to induce him to join them. "All along," he writes, "they were a battering downe my resolution for Scotland, telling me that I would be laught at when I should come home, and that they would tell me I had been over sea to see what a clock it was, and returned as wise as I went out; and what comfort or content could any man of spirit who had nothing to care for have to stay at home, when the country was enthralled by an imperious, insulting enemy, and no way of redress left?† The only way for those who bore honourable minds was to pass the time abroad, and better their judgements by purchasing experience at least." The result was that Gordon pledged himself to join the Swedish cavalry; and in a short time was facing, not, as he had expected, the breezes of the North Sea, but the arid winds from

*A captain of cavalry.
†The reference of course is to the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

the southern plains. The Swedes were then at feud with the Poles, and he found that the company to which he was attached had just been commissioned to invade Poland. They were 17,000 strong, and no fewer than 7,000 were cavalry. *

Merits as a Soldier.

Even as a common soldier Gordon showed qualities which lent distinction to his conduct. He had a fair share of the hardships attendant on a military career—fevers, agues, wounds, blows, and imprisonment: but his spirit was indomitable and in the most trying circumstances he remained self-possessed, calm, and intrepid. His comrades were rough, and the age in which he lived was barbarous; but in many respects he was superior to his surroundings, and evinced a moral outlook which, considering his temptations, calls forth our highest praise. Two things especially are to his credit. He refused to follow his companions in their excesses, and was of temperate habits. Often when strong drink was offered to him, he refused it. On the few occasions when he departed from his rule, it was because he considered that abstinence would insult the person or cause in whose honour he was asked to drink. † And he was courteous to women and considerate of his inferiors. His own early training had taught hm to sympathise with weakness and hardship, and he delighted to wield a protecting arm. ‡ On the other hand he

*"He now held a command in that foolish invasion of Poland, the first of those agressive acts of Sweden which gave her a bad character throughout Europe, and brought her ultimate grief."—*The Scot Abroad*, p. 358.

† 'Here I continued a fortnight, when, by intemperancy (to which my nature was always averse) or by some other accident, I fell into a feaver, which continued me bedfast eight dayes, and then turned to a tertian ague." — *Diary*, p. 19. "He was much rallied for his temperance at dinner, nor was it without difficulty that he was persuaded to join in the gaieties which followed. The charms of his host's daughter having prevailed against his dislike of dancing, the officers assailed him with fresh provocations to drink, but the turned a deaf ear to them all."—*Diary*, p. 31. On the other hand we learn from the same page that "he was at the Castle of Lubowna, near Guesen, in the summer of 1660, when the Podstaroste informed him that the king of England had been recalled to his throne. Gordon was so overjoyed with the tidings that he departed for once from his accustomed abstemiousness. He had to pay the forfeit of his loyal festivities next morning."

‡Cf. e.g. *Diary*, p. 26.—"In one of their foraging expeditions, Gordon and his comrades came upon a party of Finlanders (serving in the Swedish army) who were maltreating a young Polish beauty. The interference of the Scots in her behalf resulted in a conflict, in which the Finlanders were beaten, when Gordon rode off with the lady and placed her in the hand of a kinsman named Koitzi. Gordon's gallantry was such that he not only refused the ten ducats which were pressed upon him in name of ransom for the fair captive, but next day sent her a number of articles of female apparel, from the ample store of his booty."

had his faults. He was not above telling a downright falsehood when it suited his purpose, * and he shared the common weakness of regarding the spoils of war as honourable gain. † He had as little compunction indeed in inventing facts or stealing property as we should have in eating a meal. To say that, however, is simply to say that he learned all too easily the evil lesson which was demanded then by the necessities of war. ‡

First Experiences of Active Warfare.

It was not long before he had his first experience of active warfare. In a few months he had seen more real fighting than many a soldier

* Cf. his treatment of Father Blackhall on leaving the monastery of Braunsberg:—"Being come to Frawensberg, I resolved not to go to Father Blackhall for fear of being chidden for leaving the Colledge, he having always diswaded me from takeing any other course as to be a scholler and turne religious. And so excusing myself to him hereafter by a letter, pretending my being in company who would by no means make any stopp there, I went through the towne without going in anywhere." *Dairy*, p. 8. Cf. too how he made his excuses to the Baron D'Isola for not fulfilling his engagement to the Roman Emperor, when in reality he was hastening to Russia to seek service there:—"To make clear with the Roman Emperour's ambassadour, I left two letters by a trusty ffriend, one dated three dayes befor the tyme I had promised to returne, giveing him notice, that, upon my comeing to Thorun, I was fallen into a heavy sicknesse, being a hott fever, so that I could not be able to come at the appointed tyme, promising how soon I was recovered to make all possible hast; the letter not writt by myself but subscrived: the other letter dated a fortnight thereafter, from the same place, informing his excellency that the violence of sickness was relented, but that I was taken with a sort of quotiduan feaver, and want of appetite, which had weakened me so that I was out of hopes of being able to travel in haste, makeing a great regrait, that, by this misfortune, I had lost the honour which I thought to have had to serve his Imperial Majesty, and such expressions more." *Dairy*, p. 40. Many years later when Gordon was on an embassy to England in the Russian service, he had the daring to call upon the Baron d'Isola in London, and to claim acquaintance. Needless to say he kept a discreet tongue!

† "Some of his own more private proceedings show considerable likeness to what was known in his own country as the levying of *black-mail*. Some peasants had taken refuge with their goods and chattels on an island in the Vistula, and in return for a weekly pension of sixteen guldens and four florins, Gordon undertook to guarantee their safety as long as the siege lasted. He confesses another practice still more closely resembling the artifices of the Highland freebooter. Comrades in the camp with whom he was in concert, would drive off the cattle of the nobles in the neighbourhood of Gordon's station. His aid in recovering the missing herds would then be sought by the owners, and his successful exertions duly rewarded by them."—*Diary*, p. 23.

‡ "The state of the Swedish army was such, that he who could not make up his mind to live by plunder, must be content to be eaten up with vermin, or to die of hunger and cold."—*Diary*, p. 24. "Some Scottish gentlemen, who had newly joined the standard, had not yet learned to live by plunder, and receiving no part of their promised pay, were reduced to great straits. In order to free himself of their importunities, the Field Marshal ordered them on an expedition, under Major Sinclair, to collect nails for a bridge about to be built. The device succeeded—before the novices came back they had acquired the art of pillage."—*Ibid.*

experienced during his whole life, even in those days of active warfare. The Swedish army advanced from Stettin and crossed the river Netze near Posen. About a week afterwards the rearguard, in which Gordon happened to be stationed, was, through the imprudence of the officer in command, surprised by the Poles, and almost the whole company were taken prisoners. Only a corporal and eight got away. Gordon was one of the eight, but he had not escaped scatheless. A bullet had found him under the ribs, and for two days, until it was extracted, he experienced excruciating pain. Yet all the thanks which the troopers received when, galloping up in haste, they informed the Field-Marshal of their calamity, was the wish that "the devil had taken them too." (In fairness to the good man let us mention that he had at the moment a bad attack of the gout.) Not long afterwards Gordon was engaged under his countryman General Douglas in an attack on a body of 10,000 Poles, when his horse was shot under him, and he received a bullet wound in the leg. But he was not seriously hurt. He is more concerned to chronicle that the Swedes on that occasion put the Polish army to flight, and that 400 soldiers, who surrendered at discretion, were hanged to a man.

A Prisoner of War.

In the beginning of 1656 he was first made prisoner. He had been sent out one day to reconnoitre, and on returning was dismayed to find that his regiment had left its quarters. Galloping after it, he fell into an ambush of the Poles, and was captured. The condition of his freedom was that he should take service with the Poles (it could scarcely be called a choice), so he consented. At once he was sent to Warsaw, which was held by a garrison of the Swedes; and there was given the guardianship of a village in the neighbourhood until the city, which was being besieged by the Poles, should be reduced. He was never more comfortable nor more pleasantly occupied. He lodged with the Podstarost,* and spent his time in learning the Polish language. He had the most amiable of teachers, for the Podstarost's daughter "sang Polish love songs to him, puzzled him with Polish riddles, and was indefatigable in teaching him the right Polish pronunciation." By the end of the siege she had hopelessly lost her heart to her pupil; but alas, there was no returning affection on his part! Warsaw had scarcely been evacu-

* Governor or provost.

ated by the Swedes before it was again occupied; and in a severe fight, which lasted for three days, between the Swedish and Polish armies, Gordon was recaptured, and carried before his former commander, General Douglas. Douglas gave him the same option as the Poles—fresh service in the Swedish ranks or else imprisonment: and with unfeigned joy, he enlisted again in his old corps. His explanation that he had been forced into the Polish ranks was readily received, for Douglas knew only too well the conditions likely to be imposed.*

Exciting Escapades.

The following winter he took part with his regiment in helping to raise the siege of Riga (a diversion created by the Czar of Russia to prevent Poland falling into the hands of the Swedes): and this enterprise having terminated successfully, there followed a couple of years in which his activity was confined almost solely to marauding expeditions. Twice again he was taken prisoner by the Poles; but on the first occasion he was bartered for another prisoner, and on the second he managed to make his escape. He had even more exciting adventures. Once he barely escaped being killed or taken prisoner while confined to bed. He was lying ill with fever in a village which was attacked by the Poles, when 70 of his companions were killed and 40 others taken prisoners. The woman he was staying with passed him off as her sick husband. Another time, while on duty at Stum in 1658, he had a most hazardous experience. In company with Captain Forbes, his then commanding officer, he rode after some Poles who were carrying off horses belonging to the garrison. They fell into an ambuscade, and were set upon by about 100 of the enemy. Forbes was wounded and taken prisoner; but Gordon, turning aside into a bog, spurred through three Poles who were waiting to seize him, dashed past a score of others, and actually escaped. But at what a risk. His cap and sword had been torn from him. A handful of hair had been pulled from his head. His clothes

* One of his first duties after his recapture was to go to Warsaw to seek recruits among his countrymen for the Swedish army, and he took the opportunity of going to see his friend the village Podstarost. In the German edition of his Diary (our only authority on this part of his life which has yet been made public) it is tantalising to read: —"Here some three pages of the original Diary are taken up with interviews which he had with the daughter of his former host, the Podstarost, and her parents, in which the reader can feel no interest." "So they are pleased to say!" is the comment of the English Editor.—C.f. *Diary*, p. 23.

were riddled with shot, and sticking in them were three arrows, one of which had wounded him in the side. To crown his woes, when he rejoined the Swedish lines, his colonel, who had been watching the whole affair, rode up and cocking his pistol, said that he had a good mind to shoot him for venturing so far without orders. Gordon could only reply that he did not think it fair to leave his captain, but he felt keenly alike the loss of his friend and his unsympathetic reception. Often during these years he was feverish and ill as the result of long exposure to cold and bitter weather; and on one occasion he had his feet so badly frozen that he was told by the doctor that he would never recover. An old woman, however, effected a cure. Often, too, he had to depend for sustenance on stealing: and as often, when there was nothing to steal, to go hungry—as he himself euphemistically puts it, "to dine with Duke Humphrey." It is evident that the troops were miserably paid, and that the pay was sometimes very long in forthcoming.

Under the Polish Banner.

In November, 1658, he was captured by the Poles for the fourth time; and as his captors on this occasion refused to exchange him for another prisoner, he bade the Swedish army a final good-bye and joined the banner of the Poles. He had little compunction in doing so indeed. The Poles, like himself, were Catholics in religion, and he had a great liking for the Polish Field-Marshal, Count Lubomirski. Long after he himself had risen to power and fame, he notes in his diary (under date 10th March, 1667) the grief with which he learned of his old master's death. He thought it right, however, "to affect some outward show of reluctance," and only when, after a captivity of eleven weeks, they offered him an appointment as quarter-master (he had refused point-blank to take rank as ensign) did he agree to serve with them. As it was, he did not remain long under their flag. Peace was concluded between the Poles and Swedes in 1661: and having heard shortly afterwards of the restoration to the Stewart throne of Charles II., he determined to return home in the hope of obtaining service in his own country. Accordingly he petitioned for his dismissal; and Count Lubomirski, in consideration of his services, granted him a testimonial in most eulogistic terms.*

* See Appendix C.—Count Lubomirski's Certificate.

A letter from his father, however, dashed his hopes. Charles II. was only engaging officers who had already done him some personal service, and it was vain to look in that direction—indeed his father wisely recommended him to stay where he was. Casting about therefore as to what he should do, he fell in with a countryman and namesake, Patrick Gordon "of the Steelhand" * who was levying a regiment of horse for Count D'Isola, the Roman Emperor's ambassador, and he agreed to raise two companies for him. That venture, however, also fell through. The ambassador received an express from Vienna, forbidding him to levy more troops, and to disband those already levied; and though he agreed to retain Gordon's services as "rittmaster" in a standing regiment of cavalry, the post was not to his liking, and he quietly resolved to break through his engagement and join the standard of Russia. Overtures had already been made to him from that quarter. The pay, if poor, was, he was assured, certain. He would take rank immediately as major, and promotion would soon follow. Making his excuses, therefore, to the Count D'Isola, † he set his face towards Riga, in the end of July, 1661, with the purpose of obtaining recruits there, ‡ and five weeks later, in company with three other officers of Scotch extraction, he arrived in Moscow. At once they reported themselves to Czar Alexis, and were admitted to kiss his hand.

Enters Russian Service.

As it was to Russia and to the Muscovite army he was to devote the rest of his life, it is only right to give the story of his reception and his early impressions of the people and country in his own words—they are anything but encouraging.

"On Monday it was ordered that I should be enrolled for major, Pawl Menezes for captaine, William Hay for lievtennant, and John Hamilton for ensignie, to foot, under the regiment of Colonell Daniell Crawfuird, and a gratuity for our comeing in or welcome to the countrey, being to me twenty fyve rubles in money, and as much

* Perhaps also a kinsman. He was one of a band of Royalists evidently driven abroad by the Commonwealth, and he appears several times in the pages of Gordon's Diary.

† See *supra* p 7, footnote.

‡ "The military adventurers from Scotlalnd, in foreign service, . . . raised regiments at home, each captain, lieutenant, and ensign bringing a stipulated number of men for his commission, etc."—*Edinburgh Review*, July 1856.

in sables, foure ells of cloth, and eight ells of damask; the rest accordingly, and our monthly pay equal with others of these charges. But the Chancellour, * being a most corrupt fellow, delayed us from day to day in expectation of a bribe, which is not only usual here, but, as they think, due: whereof. I haveing no information, after expostulating with him twice or thrice, and receiving no satisfactory answers, I went to the Boyar† and complained; who, with a light check, ordered him againe, which incensing the Diack‡ more, he delayed us still. But when, after a second complaint and order we received no satisfaction, I went a third time to the Boyar, and very confidently told him, I knew not whether he or the Diack had the greatest power, seeing he did not obey his so so many orders. Whereat the Boyar, being vexed, caused stop his coach (he being on his way out of the towne to his country house) and caused call the Diack; whom, being come, he took by the beard, and shaked him three or four times, telling him, if I complained againe, he would cause knute him. The Boyar being gone, the Diack came to me, and began to scold; and I, without any respect (whereof they get but ever too much here), payed him home in his owne coyne, telling him that I cared not whither they gave me anything or no, if they would but permit me to go out of the countrey againe.

"With which resolution I went to the Slobod, § and now began in good earnest to consider how I might rid myself of this countrey, so far short of my exspectation, and disagreeing with my humour. For . . . I perceived strangers to be looked upon as a company of hirelings, and at the best (as they say of women) but *necessaria mala;* no honours or degrees of preferment to be expected here but military, and that with a limited command, in the attaining whereof a good mediator or mediatrix, and a piece of money or other bribe, is more available as ‡ the merit or sufficiency of the person; a faint heart under faire plumes, and a cuckoe in gay cloths, being as ordinary here as a counterfeited or painted visage; no marrying with natives, strangers being looked upon by the best sort as scarcely Christians, and by the plebeyans as meer pagans; no indigenation without ejeration of the former religion and embraceing

* A scribe or clerk. Usually spoken of as the "dyak" or "diack." See below.

† Governor or ruler. This was the title indeed commonly given to the prime minister—at this time, Elia Danielovitch Miloslavski.

‡ See note on "chancellor" above.

§ Strangers' quarters.

‡ Gordon's idiom is always "as" for "than."

theirs; the people being morose and niggard, and yet overweening and valuing themselves above all other nations; and the worst of all the pay small, and in a base copper coyne, which passed at foure to one of silver, so that I foresaw an impossibility of subsistence, let be of enriching myself, as I was made beleeve I should, befor I came from Polland. These and many other reasons were but too sufficient to setle myself for disengaging myself of this place. The only difficulty was how to attaine to it, which troubled me very much; every one, of whom I asked advice, alleadging it impossible." *

His Marriage.

Doubtless, however, the mood of the moment largely gave colour to these bitter reflections. In a short time we find Gordon settling down very comfortably to the life of a Russian officer: and his advancement, a year after his advent to the country, to the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel, must have done not a little to reconcile him to his new surroundings. Indeed, the country being at peace, he began to think in earnest of getting married, and nothing could be more amusing than to read his account of the reasons that weighed with him in entering into the married state. In his diary he solemnly sets down all the "pros" and "cons."

First of all he states the objections. Marriage, he reflected, being one of the most important steps in a man's life, he ought to have sure hopes that it will increase his happiness and better his condition. But in his own case that prospect seemed very doubtful. The difference of religion made it impossible for him to marry a rich Muscovite; and such foreigners as were of his own faith were mostly poor and low-bred. He could not, it seemed to him, keep house on his small pay—at least it would be a "hard task." Moreover it was not to be overlooked that when a man took a wife he lost his freedom, so that it was almost impossible for him to remove to

* *Diary*, pp. 46 and 47. It is evident that the outward appearance of the country pleased him as little as the manners of its people. Of Kokenhausen, a town on the River Dwina through which he passed, he writes: "I seeing the streets so dirty, and everywhere such nastiness, the people so morose, and the houses so decayed and waste, presaged *ex ungue leonem a great change*: for considering that I was come from a country pleasant, citties well inhabited, neat and cleanly, and a people generally well bred, courteous and civil, I was much troubled.—*Ibid.* p. 43. He tried in his disgust to join the embassy of Feodor Michaelovitch Milotawski to Persia, but this was not permitted; though his friend, Captain Paul Menzies, obtained the post by a gift of a hundred ducats to the Boyar, and a saddle and bridle worth 20 ducats to his steward.

another country. On the other hand, he was bound to consider the temptations that beset the unmarried state. A married man was always of more temperate habits than an unmarried one; and there was just the chance that as a bachelor he might over his wine let slip a word which he would rue all his life. Again if a man were happy in his choice, marriage had many advantages and charms. It promised help in household affairs, comfort in sickness, consolation in crosses, new friends, and increased respect. As to expense, he noticed that his married friends, with no better an income than himself, were able to keep as good a table and to wear as good clothes; and so he concluded that God must bestow a special blessing on the married state, since a bachelor's housekeeping cost more than maintaining a wife. Finally if marriage was a kind of servitude, it was "a servitude of the sweetest kind." And—lying in bed one Sunday morning thinking all this out—he made up his mind to marry.

It is equaly amusing to read the story of his choice. The question was (it always *is* the question), who was the lady to be? And after long pondering he resolved to ask Catherine von Bockhoven, the daughter of a Colonel in the Russian army, who was then a prisoner with the Poles.* She was scarcely thirteen, he tells us, but she was tall, handsome, amiable in disposition, and had been well educated by an excellent mother. Above all, she was of the same faith as himself, and thus there were no social or religious barriers between hem. Straightway he went a-courting; and evidently he carried on his love-siege with as much vigour as any other in which he was ever engaged. On the second occasion when he called, he actually declared his intentions. He found her alone. Catherine, with true maidenly instinct, began to apologise for the absence of her mother, and wished to send for her. He begged her not to take the trouble, as he wished to speak to herself. Following the custom of the country, she poured out for him a small glass of brandy. Raising it to his lips, he suggested that he should drink the health of her lover. She denied that she had one; and Gordon,

* According to Alex. Gordon of Auchentoul (*Peter the Great*, Vol. I., p. 137), it was at the instigation of Von Bockhoven that Patrick Gordon entered the Russian Service. He writes:—"Gordon engaged with the Emperor of Russia to enter into that service, persuaded thereto by one General Von Buckhowen, a German, who had served under King Charles II. After the Restoration, the King having no more use for generals, recommended Buckhowen to the Russian Emperor, Alexis Michaelowich, then at war with the Turks; and he, becoming acquainted at Warsaw with Gordon, the went together into the Russian service. . . . He married . . . General Buckhowen's daughter, whose mother was of the family of Vaughan in Wales."

laying aside the glass untasted, asked if she would accept him as a suitor. The poor child answered by a deep blush, and Gordon knew that he had conquered. In the absence of her father, he experienced more difficulty in obtaining the consent of her mother. She naturally wished that Colonel von Bockhoven should be at liberty before disposing of her daugher's hand, but after a few days' hesitation she agreed to receive him in the capacity of a lover. * Three years later, in the beginning of 1665, they were married. The marriage seems to have been a very happy one, and they were blessed with two sons and two daughters, all of whom survived Gordon. †

Diplomatic Mission to England.

The same year as that in which he married, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel; and in the following year he obtained a long-cherished desire, and that in a most unexpected fashion—he was sent to England on an embassy to King Charles II., the "merry monarch." He had often wished to go there, for his heart was still in the home country, and on two previous occasions he had petitioned for leave of absence, but had been refused. Now he was to be *sent* and at the expense of the Russian Government—the object of his journey being to placate the English who had taken offence at the action of the Russians in supplying timber and tar to the Dutch ships, Holland being then at war with England. ‡ Never did any one prepare with greater

* Gordon was the means of securing ultimately the liberty of his father-in-law. When in England he obtained the powerful intercession of Charles II. on his behalf, and he speaks of his father-in-law as being one of the first to come and meet him on his return to Russia. See *Diary*, pp. 84, 87, and 103.

† His wife died in 1682: and a few years later (before 1686) he married a second time a buxom dame of Dutch extraction. A portrait of her appears in Dr Posselt's "Tagebook," and we learn from the "Gordons under Arms" that her name was Elizabeth Barnoe, daughter of Col. Roonaer ("House of Gordon" by J. M. Bulloch, Vol. III., p. 453). To the last, however, he kept the day on which he lost his Catherine as a day of mourning. On 10th October, 1696—fourteen years after the event—we read in his diary, "The anniversary of the death of my first wife, the dear, the beloved." He had one son by his second marriage.

None of his children rose to any distinction. The eldest, John, settled at Auchleuchries, but died before 1712. The second son, James, entered the Russian service, but there is no notice of him beyond 1700. The third son, Theodore, (by his second marriage), also entered the Russian service and rose to the rank of Colonel. One of his daughters was married to a German. Colonel Strassburgh; and on his death was married in 1699 to Alex. Gordon of Auchintoul, a distant relation, then a Lt.-Col. in the Russian service, and the future author of a *History of Peter the Great*. She died in 1739. His other daughter also married a Russian officer, but lost her husband early in married life. See preface to *Diary* pp. xxi-xxiii, also Preface to *Peter the Great* pp. x. and xvii.

‡ See Appendix D.—Letter Charles II. to Czar Alexis.

glee for a journey, and the account which he has left us of his adventures is full of interesting passages.‡ He travelled *via* Novgorod to Riga, and from there sailed to Lubeck. Crossing to Hamburg he resolved to pursue his journey overland, and made his way towards the Rhine. Hearing, however, that there was plague in all the cities of the Rhine, he kept along the course of the River Lippe; and reaching Dordrecht, sailed to Ostend. At Ostend—or rather at the neighbouring town of Bruges—he waited several weeks "expecting the going away of the fleet from Ostend for England," and though he tells us that he waited "with a great deale of impatience," he evidently found means of passing the time very pleasantly. His faith was a bond of fellowship, and he was allowed no weary moments. "In the morning early," he writes, "I went over the way to the monastery of the Capucine Fryers, and heard the masse; then at halfe ten, I went to the monastery of the English Nuns, after the Princes Palace, and heard masse againe; and getting acquaintance, we did meet at the place where the Lady Abess useth to sitt and give audiens at a trally, * and there, with others, heard what passed. In the afternoone, I either went with the English residents, and other Scots and English, and passed our tyme at the Trey, with a glass of wine and joviall discourse; or then went to the Nunnery where three young gentlewomen lately come from Louvain, and going for England, lodged, and passed the tyme with them at cards or discourse; or went sometymes and walked about the walls, to see the monasteryes, waterworkes, and other things worthy of notice. Wee had sometymes in the Nunnery, after vespers, at my desire, excellent vocal musick, wherat many people of all nations and religions were often present." † At length, however, he received word that a yacht would take him from Newport, and went there. To his disgust he found that it had been forced to land at Boulogne and that there was no certainty of its coming to Newport at all. Not to be delayed longer, he hired a private yacht for 60 crowns, making it a condition with the captain that he should not "go a capeing" on the voyage. As a matter of fact he risked worse dangers than privateering, for he chronicles that, when they set sail, "the mariners were all drunk, and the captain not sober."

‡It seems that the reason for Gordon's being sent on this mission was that no Russian understood English sufficiently well to speak it. Often in those days indeed the ignorace of the Russians of any language except thir own compelled them to employ foreigners to act as their embassadors. See Morfill's "Russia," p. 137.

* Lattice or grating—our word "trellis" borrowed from the French.

† *Diary*, p. 78.

His Reception.

However, he arrived safely at Dover the following day, and immediately continued his journey. He reported himself to the Earl of Lauderdale, the King's Secretary, and on 9th October he obtained an audience of his Majesty. "I found him," he writes, "standing under a canopy bareheaded, with many nobles about him. Being entred the room, and performed the usual reverences, I tooke the Emperoures letters from my brother in law. After I had the short complement, His Majesty was pleased to receive the letters with his owne hand, and gave them off immediately to one standing by, and asked me for the good health of His Majesty, which I answered after the ordinary way. Then His Majesty was pleased to say that this message was so much the more acceptable that the Tzaar had been pleased to entrust one of his owne subjects with it, and caused tell me that I might use the freedome of the court." * Gordon thoroughly enjoyed his sojourn in the English capital. He had many friends there and he made many more. He speaks of interviews with the Earls of Erroll, Rothes, Carlisle, Midleton, and Clarendon, and with several other noblemen familiar at court. His position and attainments indeed seem to have been a sufficient passport into the best society; and as the duties of his embassy left him comparatively free, he was kindly received and entertained by a whole host of countrymen. Seldom a day passed when he was not invited by some new friend either to dine with him or to spend a day at his house. It was the end of January before the terms of the King's reply to the Czar were finally adjusted, and the King had given him his dismissal. † Even then he had a last and unexpected audience of his Majesty, for the King sent for him in haste the following morning to say that he wished him on his return to use his offices on behalf of one Kaspar Calthoffe, whom contrary to his royal wishes the Czar had retained in the Russian service.

His return to Russia was practically by the same route as that which he followed when coming to England, except that he sailed from Antwerp to Hamburg insead of going by land, and bareiy escaped being shipwrecked on the voyage. ‡ It was the 6th of June

* *Diary*, p. 82.

† See Appendix D.

‡ The skipper seems to have been particularly obtuse and obstinate. Though the weather was fine at the outset he kept hugging the coast, and when Gordon suggested that he might put further out to sea, he declared that he had not sufficient ballast,

before he arrived home, his absence from the country having covered a period of almost a year.

Under Royal Displeasure.

His mission had been faithfully fulfilled, yet on his return he fell under the displeasure of the Czar, and was ordered for a time to confine himself to the slobod or stranger's quarter. The cause of this treatment it is impossible to discover. There is a gap of ten years in his Diary at this point, and we know next to nothing of Gordon's life in the interval, save that he was still given the command of his regiment and was sent in 1670 into the Ukraine (or Little Russia) to help to subdue the Cossacks there. It is supposed that the request which he brought from the English King for the release of Kaspar Calthoffe had given offence and brought down the penalty on his own head. Certain it is that, having made a show of releasing Calthoffe, the Czar ordered his rearrest, and confined him more rigorously than he had done before. *

Defence of Tchigirin.

When the Diary reopens in 1677 Gordon is still in the Ukraine, and engaged in the defence of Tchigirin (or Czegrin), the capital of the Saporogian Cossacks, against a combined force of Turks and

Serious trouble began when they got into the mouth of the river Elbe. "Towards evening we perceived a huge tempest coming down the river, encreasing so darke and black as at midnight, which put us in no small feare, and the rather seeing some vessels which kept us company hither, putting out to sea againe, which our master seeing, would needs follow, but I would not permit him, telling him that when I desired him in fair weather to put out to sea, he would not for want of ballast, and now how thought he to be able to keep sea in a storme without ballast. He proving obstinate, I told him he must choyce either to run ashore or ride it out at anchor, which last, with great reluctance, he choiced. So haveing notice of new cables and anchors in the hold, with the help of my servants and passengers we haled them out, much against the skipper's will who told me he would complaine upon me in Hamborg, and fastened all so well as we could. And, seeing mountains of ice comeing downe the river upon us, we provided our selves with long poles to keep off the ice. So we continued working the whole night, and, notwithstanding all we could do, at daylight we had a mountain of ice gathered befor us, much higher as our boyesprit, which we could not get ourselves clear off till after mid-day, notwithstanding the storme and wind was much abated. Towards evening we got up as farr as Brunsbottel, and, because of the contrary wind, were forced to anchor there againe, and stay till the next day about noone. There with a great deale of labour we gott up to Gluckstat, where I went immediately ashore and tooke up a lodging, intending to go by land to Hamborg." —*Diary*, pp. 97, 98.

* Cf. *Diary*, pp. 90 and 104. That Gordon fell under dipleasure for his intervention on behalf of Kaspar Calthoffe is a guess of the German editors of the Diary; but it is borne out by the treatment which he himself received when later he presented the letter from King James VII. asking for his own release. Cf, *infra* p. 27,

Tartars. * He tells in graphic terms the story of its siege; and, indeed, there are few passages in his adventurous life which are so full of dramatic interest. In July, 1678, the Turks and Tartars massed their armies with a view to finally reducing it. There could not have been, Gordon estimates, less than 50,000 of each. They had 4 great cannon, 27 battery pieces, 130 field guns, 6 mortars throwing shells of 120 lbs. in weight, and 9 smaller pieces throwing shells of from 30 to 40 lbs. There were 8000 waggons laden with ammunition and 100,000 waggons with provisions. The garrison, on the other hand, was barely 12,000 strong, with Gordon's regiment of dragoons and a regiment of Streltsi.† Gordon's part at first was to act as engineer, constructing the siege works and ordering their repair. It was arduous work and warm. On 11th July, he notes, there were 18 killed and 25 wounded in the citadel, the fortified position in the town. That day there were thrown into their midst 468 round shot and 246 shells. On the 28th, 844 balls were thrown, and 225 shells — their killed and wounded that day being respectively 37 and 35. On 2nd August over 1000 balls were thrown and 387 shells. The killed numbered 24 and the wounded 42. On the 8th of the same month the commander of the garrison himself was killed by the bursting of a bomb, and Gordon was asked to add to his duties by assuming the full command. He fearlessly did so: and three days later turned an assault of the enemy into a successful sally of the besieged, driving the Turks and Tartars before him. Part of the town caught fire, however, and he saw that, unless help speedily came, it would be impossible for him to defend more than the citadel. Several times he sent to the Boyar, who was evidently with the army on the other side of the river, asking for help. If 6000 men were given him, he stated, he would yet beat back the Turks. But to his messages no answer was returned, save—after a long delay—a verbal one asking him to evacuate the position. To this he refused to give heed. "He had been told," he said, "rather to die than to desert his post, or allow others to do so, without a written order." ‡ That very night,

* *Harmsworth Encyclopædia*, Vol. II., p. 1342, gives the following account of the place:—"Chigirin, or Tchigirin (Pol. Czehryn) tn. of Kiev gov., Russia, 135 m. S.E. of Kiev, an affluent of the Dnieper, with millstone quarries. Pop. (1897) 16,840."

† The Streltsi or Strelitzes were hereditary troops of the Crown, and became later a great source of trouble. See *infra* p. 33.

‡ Something of his intrepid courage may be gathered from the fact that he immediately ordered supper, and "in order that it might be seen how far flight was from his thoughts, desired that his silver service should be used." *Diary*, p. 107.

however, and whilst Gordon was with the utmost difficulty keeping his men in their places, a despatch arrived from the Boyar telling him to come away with as many of his troops as he could save. "Bring off," the order added, "the ligher cannon, and bury the rest. Destroy also all ammunition, but especially the powder." Gordon at once assembled the other officers, and read to them his instructions. They jeered at the idea of his doing any one of these things. Their men were too tired to bury the guns and certainly they would never get them through the lines of the enemy. Gordon dismissed them, and himself remained to collect the men still scattered throughout the fortress. But at that moment shouts were heard in the town below—the enemy had at last invested it—and the soldiers threw down their arms and fled. He realised that, if anything more was to be done, he must do it with his own hands; and, boldly going to the powder magazine, he burst open the door, and threw in sticks and straw. Then he set fire to the nearest house. As he turned to leave, he saw that he was alone: and much to his disappointment he saw also that the Russian army which up to that moment had occupied the bridge (the bridge which lay between him and the camp) had been withdrawn.* The officer in command thought indeed that all the troops had crossed, and that no useful purpose was to be served by holding it longer. Retreat by the gate was thus cut off; and following the example of some Russian marauders, Gordon clambered over the wall and made for the river. At once they swam across, but, alas, Gordon could not swim: and picking his way carefully down the river-side, he sought the first bridge. Here again disappointment awaited him. He found it held by the Turks, and was not a little disquieted by the eerie spectacle of several of them flitting to and fro in the darkness, carrying on the points of their scimitars the heads of Russians whom they had killed as they swam to land on the other side. It was not a time, however, for reflection. Committing his way to God, he pulled out his pistol; and firing it with his left hand in the face of the first Turk who assaulted him, he dashed across the bridge, slashing with his sword in his right hand, right and left. He gained the far side successfully, and running as fast as his limbs

* Gordon of Auchintoul speaks of one officer remaining with him. Together he says they forced their way through the enemy "in a very extraordinary manner and got to the Russian camp almost dead with wounds, hunger, and fatigue." (Peter the Great, Vol. I., p. 67). This seems however to refer to a previous occasion when Gordon was in Tchigirin at an earlier stage of the siege.

could carry him, soon outdistanced his pursuers. Stumbling over the headless bodies of slaughtered Russians, he made for the camp, and was met by two ensigns of his own regiment, who conducted him to headquarters. There he bitterly reproached the Boyar for his failure in sending men to help him to hold the position. He was, however, more successful than he had deemed. He had scarcely left headquarters, and found a resting-place for the night, when a terrific explosion occurred, shaking the ground beneath him. It was the powder magazine which he had fired before leaving Tchigirin. He learned afterwards that no less than 4000 Turks were killed by the explosion.

Promotion; and Petition for Leave of Absence.

Gordon's position in the Russian army was henceforth assured. The siege of Tchigirin had proved his splendid courage, and the Russian Government now knew the rare stuff of which he was made. He was created a major-general on the spot, and a year later was given the chief command in Kiev. The death of Czar Alexis in 1676 had placed on the throne his weakly son Feodore, but his reign only lasted six years. In 1682 his sister, the Princess Sophia, assumed the reins of government during the minority of the two Princes Ivan and Peter, who were declared to be joint sovereigns. She was a woman of great ability and energy; and chose as her chief minister Basil Golitsin. Both smiled kindly upon Gordon, the former showing him marked favour, and the latter often following his counsel. Indeed one of Princess Sophia's first acts was to confirm his command in Kiev; and a year later, in 1683, he was made Lieutenant General. But he was "heart-hungry for home," and that very year he addressed a petition to Golitsin asking that he might be allowed to leave the service. His father and elder brother had both died, he explained; and he pleaded that he was "in danger of losing the inheritance, which had fallen to him by their death," viz., Auchleuchries. He was refused permission: but two years later, having learned that a Roman Catholic Prince had come to the throne of England, he renewed his petition, asking that if absolute release could not be granted, he might at least obtain leave of absence for six months in order to visit Scotland. This time he met with more success. Account was doubtless taken of his past services, and consent was given him to go on condition that he

would return speedily and leave behind him his wife and family as hostages. The terms were hard, but he had no option. With an even greater eagerness than when he went on his diplomatic mission, he set about preparing for his journey.

His Journey Home.

He bade his family farewell in the beginning of February, 1686, and arrived in England on 13th April. On this occasion he followed a new route travelling overland the whole way to Holland. At Memel he was joined by his son James, who had for some time been at the Jesuits' College there. His intention had been merely to pay him a visit, but discovering that the prevailing atmosphere was Protestant, he became alarmed lest his faith might be unsettled.* Together they crossed Germany, travelling in a chaise;† and at Berlin, they fell in with a Hamburg merchant who guided them to that city. They arrived on the eve of an execution for murder; and Gordon, evidently horrified by the sentence, is at pains to record how the two culprits—a man and a woman—were put to death. They "were carted from the prisone to the house where the murder was committed; and there before this house with hott pinsers, the flesh was torren out of their armes; and from thence were carted to the place of justice without the towne, and there broken and laid on wheeles." Fortunately, however, Hamburg had pleasanter aspects, and the memory of that incident was not sufficient to efface them. "This Hamburgh," he writes, "is most pleasantly situated on the river Elbe, most convenient for traffick, as being in the very centre of the north parts of Europe, and wanteth no convenience but good neighbours."‡ Partly by coach, and partly by ferry, he proceeded to Rotterdam, and there embarked for England with his son. They

* "In the afternoone the Rector of the Jesuits College gave me a visitt, to whom I declared my resolution of taking my son along with me; for perceiving that they had here infected him with Calvinisme. I was afrayed he should be altogether subverted." *Diary*, p. 116. This son was afterwards sent to Douai. Cf. *infa* p. 23. John was already in Scotland under the tutelage of his uncle at Auchleuchries. His father afterwards made over to him a gift of the land of Auchleuchries. See Appendix G.

It is evident that, after joining his father, James occasionally acted as his amanuensis. Cf. such entries as "My father came to Dantzick," etc. *Diary*, p. 117.

† "I hired a shease with three horses to Stettin for eighty florins. *Diary*, p. 116. "I went out of Berlin in the shase which brought me from Dantzick, etc." *Ibid.* p. 120.

‡ *Diary*, p. 121.

found themselves in a ship with many French Protestant refugees, fleeing from the persecution which had resulted from the revocation six months previously of the Edict of Nantes. *

Court of King James VII.

On arriving in London Gordon engaged rooms in Gracious Street; but afterwards in order to be nearer the Court, he removed to Pall Mall, and stayed at the "Crown." † Here he paid for "a dineing roome, chamber, and a roome for his servants, eleven shillings a weeke." He had also "the convenience of a lane and gate into St. James's Park." ‡ Having ordered a new suit of clothes, and furnished himself with "several necessaries," § he called on the Earl of Melfort, one of the Scottish Secretaries, || and was introduced by him to the King. James VII. was most gracious. He asked Gordon many questions about Russia, about the reigning house, about the political condition of the country, about its military administration and methods: he was also interested to learn about his journey and other affairs of a more personal nature. Before he left Court he had made of His Majesty a fast friend, and almost every day during the month that followed he was admitted to his company. Occasionally he conversed with him as he walked in the Park; and sometimes, when royal excursions were planned in the neighbourhood of the city, he was invited to be a member of the King's party. One day he accompanied him on a voyage of inspection to the forts at Tilbury and Sheerness. Gordon expressed his wonder that with such forts the Dutch could have dared in 1667 to let their guns be heard in London, but the King told him that it was that experience which led to the forts being built. Another day he went with him to Chatham, and witnessed a review of five companies of Colonel

* This was the Edict passed by Henry IV. of France giving toleration to his Protestant subjects, and revoked by Lewis XIV. in 1685. The revocation was followed by cruellest outrages: and thousands of Protestants fled from the country.

†One of London's oldest inns.

‡ Diary, p. 128.

§ The list is interesting: "I payed for a periwig, seven punds sterling: for a hatt, two pund ten shillings: for silk stockens, twelve shillings: for shooes, five shillings: for a pair of sleeves and handkerchieffe, ten shillings; to a barber for trimming, one shilling; for making some kravats, ruffles, and small lace to the ruffles, ten shillings." *Diary*, p. 127.

|| "In Scotland he [James VII.] acted as a pure despot. He placed its government in the hands of two lords, Melfort and Perth, who had embraced his own religion."—Green's "Short History of the English People," p. 668.

Kirk's dragoons—that regiment so familiarly spoken of and notoriously remembered as Kirk's "lambs." He also had the pleasure one evening of seeing the tragedy of "Hamlet" and (on a different evening) the comedy of "The Rehearsal" played before the King and Queen at Whitehall. No doubt it was their common Catholic faith that made the King so fond of Gordon, and Gordon so proud to be included in the King's fellowship. The chapel at St. James's Palace, which was anathema in the eyes of the nation, * was a joy to the mind of Gordon; and regularly he worshipped within its walls. During his brief stay in London he speaks of being at mass there at least three times. He also made arrangements for his son completing his education at the Scots College at Douai, a noted Roman Catholic seminary; and on 30th April he accompanied him to Gravesend on his way there. Soon afterwards he prepared to go north to Scotland: but, being delayed in making certain necessary purchases, it was the 17th of May before he finally got away. On the 14th he travelled to Windsor to say good-bye to the King, and the account of the interview granted him may be best given in his own words:—"In the evening, about sunsett, the King being in one of the great chambers, called me to a corner of the roome, and entered into a large discourse with me, enquireing where and how long I had served abroad, and many other thing relating to military affairs; to all which I answered as well as I could. He was graciously pleased to tell me, that I should make hast to returne and that he would have a care of me, and do for me what he could; which discourse lasted about halfe ane hour, and then dismissing me, about halfe ane hour thereafter, I seeing his Majesty going towards his closet, went, and sitting downe on my knee, His Majesty graciously gave me his hand to kisse. And haveing not seen any of our Scots nobility, or any acquaintance to address me to the Queen, I begged of His Majesty the honour to kiss the Queen's hand; whereat his Majesty smiling, was pleased to conduct me to the Queen, who was sitting at a table with some ladies at cardes; and the King, acquainting her, beckoned to me to come nearer, where I had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand; which gave occasion of discourse to the nobility and courtiers, some saying, This

* "The laws which forbade the presence of Catholic priests in the realm, or the open exercise of Catholic worship, were set at naught. A gorgeous chapel was opened in the palace of St James for the worship of the King."—Green's "Short History," p. 667.

gentleman hath gott a fine introductor indeed. The King in passing by was pleased to say to me, You must not stay long there, and we shall write to the Tsaars about you."*

In Scotland.

He travelled to Scotland in the company of Cameron of Lochiel.† They parted at Edinburgh on 20th May; and Gordon immediately took steps to get in touch with those with whom he had business to transact, or whose acquaintance he desired to make. He called the following morning on the Duke of Gordon, ‡ and was introduced by him to the Lord High Commissioner, § and to the Lord Chancellor. ‖ The latter invited him to dinner; and at his house he met several noblemen, including the Earl of Erroll ¶ the superior of his own property, and the successor of the Earl whom he had met in 1666. Their conversation led him to write to his brother John, asking him to send on the charters of Auchleuchries and other necessary papers; and he stayed longer in Edinburgh than was his original intention, waiting until these should arrive. But he was never idle. He made calls [1] He walked in the park.[2] He attended Parliament[3] He inspected the fortifications of the castle. He wrote letters—his was indeed a voluminous correspondence. An answer to a letter which

* *Diary*, pp. 135, 136. The King was as good as his word, and sent after him to Scotland a letter (See Appendix E) in which he prayed the Czars Ivan and Peter to release him from the Russian Service. Unfortunately, though it was well intended, it brought Gordon only trouble and sorrow. See *infra* p. 28.

One cannot help speculating on what the result might have been had King James VII. obtained his desire, and Gordon been released at his request from the Russian service Would the battle of the Boyne have resulted differently? Would the hand that crushed the Streltsi have crushed the Protestant insurgents in Britain? Certainly one cannot help thinking that he would have made the way to the throne considerably more difficult for William of Orange.

† Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.

‡ George, the first Duke of Gordon.

§ Alexander, the fourth Earl of Murray. After Parliament had been adjourned, Gordon accompanied him as far as Haddington on his journey north.

‖ John, fourth Earl of Perth. He became a Roman Catholic to please the king (See *supra* p. 23, Note) and had to flee for his life on the accession of William and Mary.

¶ John, the twelfth Earl, a brother-in-law of the Earl of Perth.

1 He speaks of calling on the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensbury. the Marquess of Athole, the Earls of Airlie, Dunfermline, and Aberdeen, and Lady Huntly and Lady Lucy Hamilton.

2 The King's Park.

3 He was present at the opening of Parliament on June 2. By an inadvertence he puts the date in his Diary as June 1.

he had sent to Golitsin, the Boyar, reached him while in Edinburgh; and he was asked among other things to bring back with him a number of inferior officers, also engineers, gunners, and miners. But Parliament having adjourned on 15th June, scattering the nobility far and wide, and his papers having now come, Gordon set out on the 21st for Aberdeen. He was met there by several kinsmen, including his uncle, * his brother, † and his son John ‡ and by quite a host of friends. For the next fortnight his progress was like a triumphal procession. He called first on the Earl of Aberdeen and spent a night with him at Kelly, now Haddo House. The Earl went over the charters of Auchleuchries with him, and advised him to retain the property. He next proceeded to his brother John's, and spent two days with him at Westertown. One of these days was taken up with a visit to his uncle; and the other in going down to Cruden, where, he writes, "having visitted diverse gentlemen in the parish, I dined with my sister, and was very merry." He then went to Delgaty Castle to complete his business with Lord Erroll, calling on the way at Barrack, Knaven, and Auchmunziel—all seats of Gordons. Lord Erroll had just returned from Edinburgh, but made him most welcome. The following morning they discussed business matters first, and "after little scruples and difficulty" came to an agreement, "my Lord," he writes, "very nobly condiscending to all we desired." Thereafter "we dined with my Lord very merrily, among the excellent discourses of a compleet well bred lady :§ and indeed all the civilities imaginable were showed me by both these worthy persons." || On the return journey he visited other connections of the family at Auchry, Auchreddie, and Nethermuir, and spent the night at Barrack. He would fain have returned to Auchleuchries, for he had still arrangements to make with his brother John regarding the estate and the care of his son; but his time was far gone, and having invited John to meet him rather in Aberdeen, he pushed on there, merely stopping at Watertown of Ellon to arrange with its laird about a bond which he held on the

* James Gordon, his father's brother, who was tenant of the East side of Westertown of Auchleuchries.

† John, his younger brother.

‡ He had previously sent this son to be educated in Scotland. Cf. Notes, *supra*, pp. 15 and 22.

§ Lady Anne Drummond, wife of John, 12th Earl of Erroll, and sister of the Lord Chancellor. She seems to have been a most talented lady.

|| *Diary, p.* 147

farm of Muirtack. At Aberdeen his brother joined him; and matters were finally arranged between them, "he giving me a bond for four hundred marks, and ane assidation for three hundred merks a year, for the West syde of Westertown: I having allowed him a large sallary, all the expences he could pretend, and my children's maintenance to the rigour." * He was annoyed to find that, after curtailing his visits to his friends in the country, he could not get a ship in Aberdeen for almost a fortnight: but he spent the time very happily, seeing the sights of the city and visiting friends.¶ He was fêted by the Lord Provost and magistrates who paid him the compliment (as he himself was not in a position to accept the honour) of making his uncle, brother, and son, all burgesses.† At length he found a Bo'ness ship sailing for Denmark—its name "Christian," its skipper Robert Cumming—and, embarking on 15th July, he bade farewell, a last farewell as it proved, to his home and friends. ‡ On the 20th he arrived at Elsinore; and finding an English ship, belonging to Yarmouth, bound for Riga, he continued his journey that same day. His ship dropped anchor in the river off Riga on 1st August; and going ashore next morning, he pushed on and reached the Slobod of Moscow on the last day of the month.

A Second Time in Disgrace.

He was very kindly welcomed the day after his arrival by Golitsin the Boyar; and a fortnight later, when he had occasion to be at the palace, the Princess Sophia said to him, "God reward thee for keeping thy word." He sent for his wife, who was at Kiev, and settled—or rather prepared to settle—in his old haunts. But on the very day that Princess Sophia greeted his return he had presented at Court the letter of King James VII. petitioning for his release, and he had backed it up with a memorandum detailing his past services. § Not long afterwards he became

* Dairy p. 148.

¶ The Earl Marischal visited Aberdeen on 12th July, and Gordon having called upon him, they spent the evening together in Gordon's rooms. It is interesting to reflect that Gordon's career may have suggested to the Earl's two famous sons a sphere for the exercise of their talents after the collapse of the family fortunes in 1715. See Dr Bruce's Article on *"The last of the Earls Marischal"* in *The Book of Buchan*, p. 353, and Mr Anderson's Article on *"Field-Marshal Keith"* in *"The Buchan Club Transactions*, Vol. x., p. 2.

† See the Burgh Registers of Aberdeen.

‡ "Wee keeped in sight of Scotland till neer night, and with sadd hearts, bidd it farewell."—*Diary*, p. 152.

§ See Appendix F.

sensible of a change of countenance towards him: and to his amazement he was warned by friends on 21st November that, if he did not hasten to confess his fault and seek pardon, some sudden sentence might be executed against him. Unable to sleep that night he went next day to Golitsin. The Boyar rounded upon him with fierce indignation, upbraiding him for his desire to leave the Russian service, and telling him that if he did not crave forgiveness, and promise to continue, he would certainly be disgraced—reduced perhaps to the rank of an ensign and sent into distant service. It was in vain that he remonstrated. Reason was of no avil, and the more he pleaded the angrier Golitsin became. He threatened indeed to banish him and his family to the most distant part of the Empire if he still remained obdurate. Poor Gordon had to give in but he did so with his tongue in his cheek. He wrote a most humble apology, and sent it to Golitsin. Golitsin declared that it was not half humble enough. Gordon thereupon told Golitsin that, as in his eyes the very idea of an apology was a farce, he could draft whatever he liked and that he would sign it. When the document appeared, it made him rub his eyes, and for very shame's sake he felt bound to alter certain expressions. But his mood was conciliatory, and evidently he altered little, for we have his own testimony that, when signed, "it was conceived in as submissive tearmes and expressions as could be done to God Almighty." Even then there was a danger of fresh trouble. A second letter came from England asking that he might be received at Moscow as Envoy Extraordinary of the English King. It was only because he had the wisdom in this instance to put himself wholly in the hands of the authorities, and to intimate to them that he would acquiesce in any decision which they might reach that another scene was obviated. He was told firmly that the proposal could not be entertained; but soon afterwards—on 11th December—he was told by Golitsin that his apology had been accepted and that he was to be restored to his wonted place of favour. "Being in towne," runs his own account of the matter, "I was sent for to the Boyar's house, who told me that the Czaars had graced me, and had remitted my fault, and ordered me to be in my former charge." "And so," is his sardonic comment, "thus ended this stage play!"

Reinstatement and Advance to the Rank of General.

His first duty after his reinstatement was to march against the Tartars of the Crimea. He was given command of the select regiments of the second division, and as quarter-master general he had also to map out the route and to find the means of transport. The country abounded with the enemy's cavalry, so that the army had to advance in close columns having the baggage waggons on each side to prevent a flank attack. He notes that, when they set out on 8th May, 1687, from Kiev, "the string of waggons, twenty thousand in number, was a thousand fathoms long, and five hundred and fifty seven fathoms broad." The troops reached the lower plains of the Dneiper, but there they found that the grass had all been set on fire by the Tartars and that there was no forage for their horses. Accordingly they beat a retreat, and some time after—the expedition having proved a hopeless failure—the troops were disbanded. For his services, however, Gordon was created a General. It was recognised that, but for his skill and foresight, the retreat might have become a rout and the losses have been far greater.

Overthrow of Princess Sophia.

From this time his influence and power steadily increased;* and an event which happened within two years placed him in a foremost position both in the management of the army and in the counsels of the nation. This was the revolution which led to the downfall of Princess Sophia and of her minister Golitsin, and which gave to Czar Peter sole reigning authority over the Empire. The manner of it was as follows. In 1682, as we saw, the two princes, Ivan and Peter, were declared to be joint sovereigns, and Princess Sophia was made regent during their minorities. † It was an arrangement which had obvious dangers. Ivan was even weaker than his brother Feodore, being of imbecile mind and sickly body: and in increasing measure power fell into the hands of the Princess Sophia. She loved

* We read, for example, that on 8th January following his appointment the two chief ministers, Golitsin and Dolgorouky, dined at his table. Plans having been invited for a new town to be built at the junction of the Samara and Volga—the modern town of Samara indeed—those submitted by Gordon were mainly followed. While it is evident that more and more Czar Peter came to rely upon him. Whenever he wished soldiers or drummers for his private residence at Kolomenskoje, it was always to Gordon that he made application, or for those trained in his regiment.

† See *supra* p. 21.

to rule, and she ruled well: but being afraid lest, when Peter grew up, the sceptre might be transferred to him, she determined to make a bold bid for the throne itself. One weapon forged and ready to her hand was the Streltsi, or hereditary troops of the crown; and she hoped that by sedulously cultivating their goodwill, she would get Peter into her power. At first there was a prospect of success. Early in 1689 the war was renewed with the Crim Tartars, and Gordon was again asked to take charge as quarter-master general of an expedition to the steppes of the Dnieper. The main body of the army was thus out of the way, and it looked as if Sophia would have a free hand to mature her plans. But the expedition proved even more hopeless than the preceding. The troops had only reached Perekop when they were recalled; and though Peter, ignorant of Sophia's intentions, was rash enough to grumble in consequence at the lavish distribution of rewards among the officers,* his action evoked nothing more than a temporary disappointment. As Gordon puts it, they had to "take the bitt, and the buffet with it."

But evidently his action decided Sophia. She ordered the Streltsi and soldiers of the guard to march upon Peter's residence at Preobrashenskoje, and to seize him. Word was brought to Peter at midnight that this order had been issued; and jumping out of bed, he immediately, without waiting even to dress himself, ran to the stables and mounted his horse. Having galloped for safety to the nearest wood, he awaited there till his clothes were brought him; and then with a few friends he made his way to the monastery of Troitsa, about 40 miles from Moscow. Here he sent word to the troops next morning to join him; and Sophia having countermanded his orders, he renewed them in a written command addressed to the foreign officers. In this he stated that there was a conspiracy against his life. When the command came, Gordon was at a total loss what to do. To refuse, he knew, was as much as his life was worth: and yet on showing it to Golitsin, Golitsin merely laughed at his fears, and said he would consult Sophia and the elder Czar. That decided Gordon. He told his brother officers that whatever commands came from the Kremlin (the royal palace) he was resolved to set out that night for Troitsa; and they determined to follow his example. The

* Gordon had his due share of these. Besides such common gifts as a piece of velvet and a glass of brandy from the Emperor's hand, he "had the special privilege accorded to him of being addressed for the future in the third person, whether in speech or writing, and of being styled Ivanowitsch, that is 'son of John' (his father's name)." *Diary, p.* 166. Later he was given the name Leopold.

next day found them all indeed at the gates of the monastery, and Gordon was immediately admitted to the Czar's presence and ordered to keep by his side. Four days afterwards Peter entered Moscow in triumph. Golitsin for his part in the conspiracy was banished. Sophia was confined to a convent, where after a seclusion of fifteen years she died. The imbecile Ivan resigned the rule into the hands of his younger brother. The revolution—almost bloodless in character—was complete: and to Gordon's promptitude of decision and action must be assigned the credit of placing Peter securely upon his throne.

Relations with Czar Peter the Great.

From this time forward he moved in the intimate circles of court life and was almost daily in the company of the Czar. Along with Le Fort (the general of Swiss extraction who afterwards accompanied Peter upon his travels), * he shared the honour of being consulted regarding every military measure of importance, and his services were usually employed in every underaking which demanded knowledge and foresight. In one respect it is evident that he found his place of honour trying — he dined at the Kremlin rather more frequently than was good either for his temperate habits or his health. Often in his diary he laments that he is ill as the result of the previous night's debauch; and on one occasion he was so bad that he had to remain at the Palace till the Czar, who had gone to his private residence at Kolomenskoje, sent him medicine for his relief. † Peter's love of fireworks inspired not a few of these invitations. He loved nothing better than to watch experiments with high explosives, and Gordon was generally asked to superintend operations. Occasionally also Peter dined at Gordon's house. On one such occasion he was accompanied by no less than 85 persons of distinction and 100 servants. The company arrived at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, and stayed both to dinner and supper, spending the night as if in

* Le Fort had a remarkable career. See Alex. Gordon's *Peter the Great*, Vol I., pp. 133-137. His intemperate habits brought his life to an early close when aged about 46 on 2nd March, 1699 (the year of Gordon's death also).

† Nevertheless he was really temperate—a marked contrast to Le Fort. Gordon of Auchintoul gives him this certificate "General Gordon was a sober man in a country where drinking is much in fashion; and though he used to be much in the Czar's company. His Majesty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged." (Peter the Great, Vol. I., p. 138). See also *supra* p. 6.

camp.* When Peter formed the design of establishing a fleet at Archangel, he found Gordon especially helpful; for he was fully cognisant of English methods of naval construction, and his knowledge of the English language enabled him to translate the regulations of the Russian service for the benefit of English shipping. In 1694 he accompanied the Czar to Archangel and acted as Rear-Admiral of the fleet. They spent the whole summer there manœuvring in the open waters, and only regretted when the advanced season compelled them to desist.†

The Siege of Azov.

Next year found Gordon with the whole army in front of Azov —as far south as in the previous summer he had been north. War had been declared upon the Turks, and he was ordered to march against the city and reduce it. That summer, however, the attempt proved fruitless. He came in sight of Azov on 27th March, and two days later was joined by Czar Peter, and Schein, the commander-in-chief of the expedition. By June the Russians had completed their investment and had captured the two outer forts, and in July a sally of the garrison against Gordon's division was successfully repulsed. But a German engineer named Jansen, in the regiment of Le Fort, felt himself slighted, and deserted to the enemy the following night: with the result that all their plans were betrayed, and that the next sally—directed against Le Fort's division—had almost proved disastrous. Gordon's interposition, indeed, alone saved the situation. An ill-advised assault also, carried through against Gordon's advice, cost them dear. "Of the four regiments," he writes, "fifteen hundred men were killed, besides officers." Gordon compares the Czar to Rehoboam, surrounded by evil counsellors, and says that, when summoned into the presence of the Czar that morning, "there was nothing to be seen but angry looks and sad countenances." A second assault at the end of August had no better result, and so the siege was for the time being raised.

* How Gordon could afford such an entertainment, it is hard to imagine. His half-yearly salary, as paid on 10th March, 1690, only amounted to 271 rubles, 6 alten, 4 dangi. Other perquisites, however, fell to his lot. For example, on 31st January, 1690, his wines and provisions were allowed by royal orders to pass free of duty. On 6th March, 1691, the Czar made him a gift of silver plate and other confiscated property worth in all a thousand rubles. While for the part he player in the siege of Azov in 1696 he received a medal worth 6 ducats, a gold cup, a costly rob of sables, and an estate with ninety serfs.

† Archangel is only an open port between July and September. For the rest of the year it is ice-bound.

Next year, however, there was a change of tactics. Arrived before Azov, the Czar called his generals together, and held a council of war as to how the city should be reduced. Most of them advised familiar methods—assaults, reduction of the fortifications by artillery fire, mining, etc., pursued with all energy: but Gordon suggested rather that they should employ a force of 12,000 men or thereby to throw up a great mound or wall of earth, beginning at such a distance from the walls as to be unmolested by the enemy's fire; and then rolling it steadily forward, filling up the fosse by its means, and finding themselves in time not only in a position to mount cannon within easy range, but even to overtop the walls and to look right into the city. It was a novel method in warfare, but the Czar saw the wisdom of Gordon's suggestion and resolved to be guided by it. The result even exceeded expectation. In five weeks they had a mound of earth in close proximity to the city, standing high over the ramparts. They had lost merely 300 men in placing it there, and the enemy were at their mercy. Indeed, an attempt to relieve the town having failed, the governor hoisted the white flag, and capitulated with his whole garrison. They marched out six thousand strong on 28th June, and Czar Peter returned in triumph to Moscow. Needless to relate, the traitor Jansen was executed for the part which he had played. He had turned Mohammedan in the hope of escaping, but the Turks were compelled to hand him over. *

Revolt of the Streltsi.

It is not to be wondered at therefore that when, in the autumn of that same year, the Czar determined to leave his kingdom for a time, and to pay a visit to Holland and England in order to perfect his knowledge of shipbuilding, he should have left Gordon, although of foreign birth, second in command of the military affairs of the empire. He had proved himself not only worthy of trust, but ready and resourceful: and the Czar could rely with implicit confidence on his discretion and judgment. As the event proved, there was every need. Gordon went south after Peter left, to Azov, in order

* A very interesting account of the siege of Azov, as also of the revolt of the Streltsi which follows, is given by Gordon of Auchintoul in his History of Peter the Great, Vol. I., Book III. He was at that time, like his future father-in-law (See *Supra* p. 15, Footnote), in the Russian Service; and like him also, took part in the siege of Azov (Author's Life p. ix, *Peter the Great*).

to superintend repairs on the fortifications; and from there he went to Taganrog where the Tartars threatened a fresh disturbance. His presence prevented an attack, and in the end of the year he returned to Moscow.

Early in the following spring it became evident that he was to have trouble with the Streltsi.* In February a number of them sent in a petition stating their grievances, and as no immediate redress was promised, they refused to obey their commanders. An attempt to imprison the ringleaders led to a riot, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Gordon prevailed on them to return to duty. That, however, was but the prelude to the storm. On the 8th of June, word was brought to the capital that four regiments of the Streltsi, who were stationed at Toropetz, "were disposed to insurrection and disobedience." An equerry was dispatched to obtain information, and the report was speedily confirmed. They were irritated, it appeared, that the rest of the army had been withdrawn, and they had refused to go to the various positions to which they had been assigned. They had asked their officers to lead them back to Moscow; and on their refusing, they had deposed them, and had appointed four of their own number from each regiment to take their place. At that moment they were marching on Moscow. Gordon was accordingly asked to place himself at the head of an army corps, composed both of infantry and cavalry, and to intercept their march. He speedily made his dispositions and set out. On the night of the 16th he encamped near Tuschina, and the following day he came up with them at the convent of Woskressensk.

Nothing shows Gordon's character in a better light than the endeavours which he made to end the dispute amicably—the pains, indeed, to which he put himself in order to induce the misguided men to return to their allegiance, and (when that was impossible) the mercy which he showed when dealing out punishment. Five times at least he gave them a chance. Having placed his infantry in strong positions, and having sent his cavalry to their rear so as to cut off retreat, he rode down to meet their leaders, and pleaded with them to desist; advising them if they had grievances to address themselves in a constitutional fashion to the commander-in-chief, but to leave off rebellion. He even allowed them to send on to headquarters, there and then, two of their number to represent their case. But they would make no promises except that (and this was

* See *supra* p 19, Footnote.

a mutual agreement) no movement should take place that night. At a later hour Gordon, accompanied by six deputies, again went to them and offered definite terms—immediate enquiry into their grievances, and a full pardon to all, except their ringleaders, if they would return at once to the positions assigned them. Even those who were more guilty would not suffer severe punishment. They answered that they were all determined to go to Moscow, or else die in the attempt; and when Gordon suggested that each regiment should hold a consultation apart, he was told they were all of one mind. He then intimated that he would withdraw, and wait outside a quarter of an hour for their answer. If they refused, they must not expect such terms again. But a quarter of an hour brought no alteration, and sorrowfully he took his departure. He now brought up 25 cannon, and put them into position. Before firing, he made a last appeal. It was in vain. "They were as ready to defend themselves," was the retort, "as he was to attack. Let him make the attempt." Even then he was unwilling to shed blood, and asked the gunners to fire their first shots into the air. This, however, only had the effect of encouraging the rebels through thinking that they were bad marksmen: and for about an hour the fight became general. Seeing their numbers decimated by the second round of fire, the Streltsi sought to escape by a lane leading through the hollow below them, only to find, however, that Gordon had anticipated this movement and that their way was cut off. They therefore retreated again to their camp, and made for shelter; so that, after two other rounds of fire, Gordon was able to march down and to surround their camp. Few indeed had the courage to remain in their positions; and having posted guards all round, Gordon demanded their surrender.

It was a cheap victory. Twenty-two rebels had been killed on the spot, and about forty wounded, most of them mortally. On Gordon's side only a few were wounded. The ends achieved indeed were altogether out of proportion to the cost, for there can be little doubt that Gordon's victory was the first step necessary for the breaking up of the power of the Streltsi—a reformation which had been long due. His firmness also at this critical moment saved for Peter the Great both his crown and kingdom, for it turned out from evidence afterwards given that the intention of the rebels had been "to massacre cerain Boyars, to extort an increase of pay, and a new regulation of their services." Had they been successful, a revolution would almost certainly have followed. One grieves to state that no

less than one hundred and thirty of them were tried by court-martial, and straightway beheaded or hung. Many more were knouted. Some were tortured. One thousand eight hundred and seventy were imprisoned pending the Czar's return. But Gordon's measures were mercy in comparison with Peter's. After he came back, he insisted on retrying every prisoner, and few escaped. The entries in Gordon's Diary towards the end of September speak of wholesale executions, and even Peter's apologists find it difficult to excuse the fury of his actions. The Patriarch is said "to have overcome his repugnance to shed blood." One can only pray that the Patriarch was cognisant of facts which justified his harshness. "The walls of the Kremlin," says the historian of Russia, "were covered with the corpses, and the squares of Moscow were deluged with the blood of the Streltsi." *

Death of Gordon.

When Czar Peter returned in the beginning of September, his first act had been to send for Gordon. He "received him very graciously, and thanked him in the heartiest way for his faithful services, and the great things he had done." If he designed at a subsequent date to show his thanks in a more substantial form (and doubtless that would have been his desire), the opportunity was denied him. On 31st December of that year (1698) Gordon wrote in his *Diary*: "Almighty God be praised for his gracious long-suffering towards me in sparing my life so long. Grant, gracious God, that I may make a good use of the time that Thou mayest be pleased yet to grant me for repentance. This year I have felt a sensible decrease of health and strength. Yet Thy will be done, gracious God." It was the last entry which he was destined to write. His strength continued steadily to wane, and by the middle of the summer of 1699 he was confined wholly to his bed. In the course of his illness the Czar came to see him no less than five times; and on the night before he died, he visited him twice. He stood beside his bed weeping

* Morfill's "Russia," p. 145. "Many rebels . . . were interrogated and put to torture. . . . About two hundred were knouted in the afternoon." June 30. "To-day seventy men were hanged by fives and threes on one gallows." July 2. "Many Strelizes were bought up and put to the torture, his Majesty being desirous to institute a stricter examination than ours." Sept. 17. "More Strelitzes put to the question. A number were directed to prepare for death." Sept. 20. "A number of Strelites were executed." Sept. 30. "Orders were issued not to give support to any of the wives or children of the executed Strelitzes." Nov. 14. And so *passim*. *Diary*, pp. 191-3,

when at seven o'clock on the morning of 29th November, Gordon drew his last breath. "The eyes of him who left Scotland a poor unfriended wanderer," writes Dr Joseph Robertson, "were closed by the hands of an Emperor." Peter too insisted that the funeral arrangements should be left in his hands, and buried his veteran general with every honour. "The body was carried on the shoulders of twenty-eight colonels: two generals supported the footsteps of his widow: and twenty ladies, the wives of high Muscovite dignitaries, walked in her train." The Czar himself "took his place in the long line, accompanied by all the pomp of his empire, and followed by the representatives of most of the great powers of Europe." Gordon was buried according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church in the chapel attached to that faith which he himself had chiefly helped to rear—indeed "the first chapel of stone which the Roman Catholics were suffered to raise in Moscow." His grave is in front of its high altar, where to this day the following inscription may be read:—

SACRAE TSAREAE MAJESTATIS MILITIAE GENERALIS
PATRICIUS LEOPOLDUS GORDON
NATUS ANNO DOMINI 1635 *DIE* 31 *MARTII*
DENATUS ANNO DOMINI 1699 *DIE* 29 *NOVEMBRIS.*
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

"This was a Man."

Gordon was one of the most loveable of men. We only know him from the pages of his own *Diary,* but the character which stands revealed there inspires in us interest, wonder, admiration, and affection.

The mere achievement of his life was remarkable. Born in a Scottish home of slender fortune and of ostracised faith, he yet rose to a first position of influence and power in Russia, became the close friend of Peter the Great, and "by his extraordinary behaviour and success acquired," as Captain Perry states, "both the love of the army and the esteem of the whole nation."

No less remarkable in the story of Gordon's career is the element of adventure. To few men is it given to pass through experiences so varied in character and so thrilling in description. At one point,

as we saw, his fortunes were so low that he was tempted to sit down and weep, dismayed at his own friendless condition. At another we found him carrying the burden of life very lightly, engaged in a flirtation with the daughter of an enemy, and all unconcerned by the varying success of the forces on whose side he fought. Three or four times he escaped death by the merest chance. At Tchigirin he may be said in his single strengh to have held momentarily a whole army at bay. Nothing dismayed him, and nothing came to him amiss. The simplicity of country life, the gaiety of courts, the quiet of the cloister, the stir of camps, and the noise of battle-fields—with all these he was familiar, and he could describe them from intimate personal knowledge and acquaintance.

But he remained unspoiled. Indeed we love Gordon because of his great human qualities. He could pity a poor child. Equally he could laugh at the follies and absurdities of a prince. He was loyal to his faith. Nevertheless he was sorry for the refugees under its ban. Of his own faults he was deeply conscious. His lapses from truthfulness and his fits of intemperance are frankly confessed—so frankly that the sins are half condoned in the telling. He could love strongly, and he could hate deeply: and for the most part he loved the loveable things of life, and hated the hateful. Often where he errs—for example, in his contempt for Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans—there is a sincerity in his blundering which prevents any revulsion of feeling. And his own sense of humour was so strong that things which he did of an inexcusable nature we cannot help laughing at. What could be more ridiculous, for instance, than the picture of Gordon claiming friendly acquaintance with the Roman ambassador at the Court of Charles II.—an ambassador whom he had outwitted in diplomacy, and whose real feelings towards Gordon, had he known his conduct, would have been those of honest anger?

But we love Gordon most of all for his reverence, and for his emphasis on life's essential virtues. Despite the roughness of his training, the levity and temptations of his life as a soldier, he never forgot the impressions of those days spent in the monastery of Braunsberg; and to the end—increasingly indeed in later years—there was in his character a deep vein of religious earnestness and purpose. How many troopers stripped of their belongings, and lodged in prison, would make it a subject of lament that they had lost thereby their Latin copy of Thomas a Kempis? How many would care to chronicle in their Diary a prayer for penitence and

pardon? These things reveal the real Gordon. He had his faults—who has not?—but he knew and loved the right: and our most abiding impression of him is that of a true man, free from hypocrisy and free from guile, who in difficult circumstances lived a clean and noble life, and left behind him a record of work done to which the best of us must pay homage.

> This is the happy warrior—this is he
> Whom every man at arms would wish to be.

APPENDIX.

A.—GORDON'S DIARY.

Almost our sole authority for the facts stated in this sketch of Gordon's life is his own "Diary." He seems to have begun it about the year 1652, when he would have been in his 29th year, as up to that date his narrative is full, and interesting, and rounded off as regards both matter and expression. Afterwards, being written from day to day, it is too often a bare chronicle of events, or a list of places visited and of people interviewed. Its expansions are tantalising indeed for the very fact that they reveal how much we have missed; but even where Gordon merely tells us what he has been doing and with whom he has met, he is never dull. He continued his Diary right down to the year before his death; and six volumes are still extant in the archives of the Russian Government. The only gaps are from 1667 to 1677, and from 1678 to 1684.

As early as 1724 a Russian translation of the Diary was contemplated by Count Ostermann, but was never completed: and though several accounts of Gordon's life were published in Russia during the century that followed, it was not till 1849 when Dr M. C. Posselt's translation into German began to appear from the press of Moscow (Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon. Erster Band: Moskau, 1849), that general interest in it and its author was aroused in this country. That translation, however, was reviewed both in the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews; and a hope expressed in the former that its appearance might "induce one of the Scotch clubs . . . to undertake an edition of selections from the original text" was almost immediately fulfilled. The Spalding Club through its then President, the Earl of Aberdeen, obtained "a transcript of all the pasages . . . which related to his native country": and the editorship of these having been entrusted to Dr Joseph Robertson, he added to them an account (compiled from the German edition of Dr Posselt) of Godon's doings during the periods not covered by them, together with translations of the more important passages, and threw the whole into the form of a narrative strictly chronological in order and packed with information and interest. It was published by the Spalding Club in 1859 under the title "Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries," and is the Diary constantly referred to throughout the foregoing pages. (See Preface to *Diary*, pp. i.-xviii).

Other books, etc., containing information about Gordon are:—*History of Peter the Great* by Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (F. Douglas and W. Murray, Aberdeen, 1755 2 Vols.); *Buchan*, by John B. Pratt, LL.D. (Lewis Smith & Son, Aberdeen, 1870. 3rd Edit. Esp. Note ZZ in Appendix, pp. 467-71); *The Scot Abroad*, by John Hill Burton, LL.D. (W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1883. 3rd Edit. Esp. pp. 348-372); *Patrick Gordon i ego dnevck* (and his diary) by Brueckner (St. Petersburg, 1878); *Under Many Flags* by Davenport Adams (1896) pp. 120-157; *House of Gordon* by J. M. Bulloch, Vol. III. (*Gordons under Arms*) pp. 453-455; *Scottish Influences in Russian History*, by A. Francis Steuart (James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1913. Esp. pp. 45-70); *Russia*—"The Story of the Nations" Series, by W. R. Morfill, M.A. (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1897); *The History of Russia*, by Walter K. Kelly (Henry G. Bohn, London, 1855, 2 vols.); and the two Reviews above referred to—*The Quarterly Review*, March, 1852 (No. 180, Vol. 90, pp. 314-332), and *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1856 (No. 211, Vol. 104, pp. 24-51). Like this account of Gordon's life, the accounts given in all these are based more or less on his own Diary.

B.—HIS PARENTAGE.

In Dr Pratt's *Buchan* (Appendix pp. 469-71, 3rd Edit.) a full account is given of Gordon's ancestry on his father's side. Dr Robertson supplies the following note:—"James Gordon of Methlic and Haddo (great-great-great-grandfather of the first Earl of Aberdeen) who died in 1582, married a daughter of Menzies of Pitfodels, by whom he had six sons, of whom the fourth, David, was the father of Patrick Gordon of Nethermuir, who had issue. four sons and two daughters: (1) George Gordon of Nethermuir; (2) Mr Thomas Gordon; (3) John Gordon of Auchleuchries, father of General Patrick Gordon; (4) James Gordon of Westertown of Auchleuchries; (5) Annas Gordon, wife of James Gordon of Greenmyre; (6) Janet Gordon." (Preface to *Diary*, p. xix.)

Gordon himself supplies us with this note about his mother's family:—"1698, August 23.—Gott this account of my mother's father. The Laird of Petlurg married Janet Ogilby, daughter to the Laird of Cullen, and was soone after killed at the Battle of Pinky, leaving him who succeeded unborne, or in the cradle. She was afterwards maryed to one Ogilby of Blarak, her cousin, a cadet of the house of Cullen, and of 3000 merks in the Boyne. By him he had a son called James, brother uterine to Sir John Gordon of Petlurge, and unkle to Mr Robert. This James marryed Marjery Gordon, daughter to Georg Gordon of Coclaraghy. These were my grandfather and grandmother." *Diary*, p. 192.

C.—Count Lubomirsky's Certificate.

Georgius Sebastianus Lubomirsky, Comes in Wisnicz et Iaroslaw, Sacri Romani Imperii Princeps Supremus Mareschallus Regni Poloniae et Generalis Exercituum Dux campestris Generalis Minoris Poloniae, Cracoviensis, Chmielniviensis, Nizinensis, Casimiriensis, Olstinensis, Pereaslaviensisque Gubernator.

Universis et singulis, cujuscunque status gradus, honoris, dignitatis, officii et praeeminentiae personis, hasce nostras visuris, lecturis, aut legi audituris, humanissimam officiorum nostrorum contestationem. Quicunque egregiis clarent factis, praesertim illi quorum generosa pectora militari sese efferunt laude, omnes tales aducibus sub quorum gubernatione militarunt, decore gloriaque meritorum suorum debere ornari omnes postulat aequitas. Hinc generosum Patricium Gordon, natione Scotum, nobili in suis partibus genere ortum, per menses octodecem sub nostra legione dragonum legionarii hospitiorum magistri, et per duodecem menses sub praesidiaria corporis nostri cohorte capitanei locum tenentis muneribus functum, dimitti a nobis postulantem, nec non alias in partes quaerendae fortunae causa conferre se volentem, nequaquam testimonio promeritarum laudum privandum esse arbitrati sumus. Itaque coram omnibus et singulis, ad quorum notitiam praesentes venturae sint, testamur, cum omnibus in proeliis, conflictibus, occasionibus quaecunque sub tempus servitiorum illius contra plurimos regni istius hostes, nempe, Suecos, Moschos, Cosacos acciderant, interfuisse depugnasseque strenue, et ita exactum boni simul militis et officialis munus implevisse, ut tam sibi laudem honoremque paraverit, quam nomini gentis Scoticae virtute bellica ubique inclitae optime corresponderit. Huic ergo praenominato Patricio Gordon non tantum liberam ex more et ritu militari cum honore dimissionem, et amplam meritorum attestationem concedimus; sed etiam pro eodem tanquam Sacrae ac Serenissimae Regiae Majestati domino nostro clementissimo huicque reipublicae ac nobis optime, strenue fideliterque probato militi, omnes et singulos pro ea qualis cuiquam secundum suam congruit dignitatem et statum, observantia

requirimus, ut sive in Scotiam patriam suam, sive in exteras nationes conferre se statuerit, [eum] cumprimis decenter, libere honorateque dimissum reputent, gressum, regressum, commorationemque ubivis locorum tutam concedant, omni honore, benevolentia, ac humanitate, complectantur, ac ad quaevis in re militari, promotionis, officiorum, graduumque incrementa habeant commendatum. In cujus rei fidem meliorem praesentes liberae dimissionis commendationisque nostrae literas extradi illi jussimus manus nostrae subscriptione et soliti impressione sigillia muntas. Datae Varsaviae die 2 mensis Julii, anno Domini 1661.

Georgius Lubomirsky

L.S.

Bartholomeus Pestriecky
suae Excellentiae Secretarius.

Diary, pp. 36-37.

D.—Letter: Charles II. to Czar Alexis.

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., to our dearly beloved brother, the Most High, Most Potent, and Most Serene Prince, and Great Lord, Emperour, and Great Duke, Alexy Michaelowich, etc., etc.

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, your Imperiall Majesties letters, bearing date the twenty ninth of June last past, came to our hands by your Imperiall Majesties Colonell Patrick Gordon, being in answer to ours, dated from our Court at Oxford, the twenty ninth day of December last, wherein wee are sorry to find ourself somequhat disappointed in our expectation from your Imperial Majestie. For when we reflect upon your Imperial Majestie, our most dear and loveing brothers most kind expressions in severall former letters and ambassies to us, wherein your Imperiall Majestie declared that the brotherly love and friendship, which your Imperiall Majestie had for us, was more than ever had been befor between any of our Royall predecessors, and that your Imperial Majesties esteeme towards us, was farr grater than what your Imperiall Majestie had for any other Christian Prince; upon the confidence whereof wee gave you, our loveing brother, your Imperial Majestie, notice of the present warr wee have with the Estates of the Netherlands, and of the severall glorious victories which it hath pleased God to give us over them. In answer to which, wee cannot see by your Imperial Majesties said letter, that your Imperial Majestie discovers any greater inclination or concerne for us then for the said States, our enemies. Also, in our said letter, wee gave your Imperiall Majestie notice that we, our Royall Majestie, had received advice that the subjects of the said States of the Netherlands, our enemyes, did furnish themselves, out of your Imperiall Majesties dominions, with masts for ships, and tarr for the use of their ships of warr, which are employed against us and our Royall navy; and thereupon, wee desired your Imperiall Majestie, out of the brotherly love and affection which your Imperial Majestie hath for us, our Royall Majestie, not only to forbid the said subjects of the States of the Netherlands to export any such navall provisions out of your Imperiall Majesties dominions for the future, but that, on the contrary, your Imperiall Majestie would give liberty to the officers of our navy or their assignees, to buy up and transport, out of your Imperiall Majesties dominions, such masts and tarr as yearly for fyve years to come, should be, by the said officers of our navy, found necessary for our immediate service, and the use of our Royall navy. In answer to which, wee find ourself obliedged to you, our most

deare brother, your Imperiall Majestie, for the restriction which your Imperiall Majestie hath caused to be made, both upon your Imperiall Majesties river of Dwina and port of Archangell, that no man, upon paine of death, shall dare to sell any navall provisions to the subjects of the States of the Netherlands, nor they to buy or export any such out of your Imperiall Majesties dominions. But to make the obligation compleat, wee can expect no lesse than your Imperiall Majestie should effectually comply with our former desires, that navall provisions for our owne proper service, and the use of our Royall navy, should be ffreely bought and transported out of your Imperial Majesties dominions; by such persons as the officers of our navy shall employ, and in such quantity as they shall desire; for, otherwise, wee shall be no better treated by your Imperial Majestie then our enemyes are, which will be no waies suitable to the brotherly professions your Imperiall Majestie hath made unto us. That the trade of our merchant is by your Imperiall Majesties order, forbidden for this yeare, by reason that your Imperiall Majestie hath been informed, by severall Intelligences and printed Gazettes, that the plague of pestilence doth still rage in our Royall Majesties dominions, wee might have hoped that your Imperiall Majestie would not give creditt to the printed papers and artifices of our enemyes, whose practice it hath been, and is, to give out to the world that which may most advance their designes, without any regard to truth or falshood, when, in this very particular, we can assure your Imperiall Majestie, contrary to their malicious rumors, that the plague is totally ceassed in our Royall citty of London, and in all our ports, for which infinite mercy wee give heartly thanks unto Almighty God; and as we doubt not but the knowledge hereof will be most acceptable to your Imperiall Majestie, our most loving brother, so wee will be confident that, upon the receipt of these our letters, your Imperiall Majestie will recall all prohibitions in that kind, so that the next ships that shall come from our kingdomes may, with their merchants and merchandise, be admitted to a ffreedom of trade in your Imperiall Majesties dominions and ports as formerly What concernes the restauration of your Imperiall Majesties priviledges to our subjects, the marchants, seeing wee cannot prevail with your Imperiall Majestie to grant them at present, though wee cannot be satisfyed with your Imperiall Majesties answers to that particular, yet wee do in some measure support our patience with hope to find the same in short tyme granted to us, not doubting in the least of your Imperiall Majesties brotherly inclinations and real performances. So, wishing your Imperiall Majestie, our most dear and loveing brother, long life, with a most happy and successful reigne, haveing most graciously dispatched your Imperiall Majesties Colonell Patrick Gordon with these, our Royall Majesties letters, wee committ your Imperiall Majestie to the protection of Almighty God. Given at our Court, in our Royall citty of London, the twenty seventh of December, 1666, in the eighteenth yeare of our raigne.

Diary, pp. 90-2.

E.—Letter: James VII. to Czars Ivan and Peter.

James the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., to the most heigh, most potent, and most serene, our most dear brothers, the Great Lords, Czaars, and Great Dukes, Ivan Alexeowich, Peter Alexeowich, of all the Greater, Lesser, and White Russia Self Upholders, Czaars of Moscovia, Kiovia, Volodomiria, Novogardia, Czaars of Casan, Czaars of Astrachan, Czaars of Siberia, Lords of Plesko, and Great Dukes of Smollensko, Tweria, Ugoria, Permia, Vatkia, Bolgaria, and others, Lords and Great Dukes of Novogardia, of the Lower Countreyes, of Czernichow, Rezan, Rostow, Yaroslaw, Beloozersky, Adorsky, Obdorsky,

Condinsky, and Commanders of all the Northern Coasts, Lords of the lands of Tveria and Grudzinia Czaars of the lands of Cabardinia, Czirkassia, and the Dukes of the Mountaines, and of many other dominions and countreyes, east, west, and north, from father and grandfather Heirs, Lords and Conquerors; sendeth greeting, and wisheth all happiness and prosperity: Whereas wee ar informed that our trusty and wellbeloved subject, Patrick Gordon, hath served your Imperiall Majesties many yeares, and now serveth in the quality of Lievtennant Generall; who now by the deceass of his father, is to inherit lands, for which he is to performe personell service unto us; and wee having use for the service of such of our subjects as have been bred up in military employments, wee do, therefor, desire of your Impriall Majesties that you would dismiss the said Patrick Gordon, with his wyfe, children, family, and effects, out of your dominions, which wee rather desire, because wee know that your great vertue hath procured from God the blessing of an universall peace with all your neighbours. The doing this, will be an encouragement for men of honour to repaire to your service, whenever you shall have occasion for them; and whenever the opportunity is given us of doing you the lyke pleasure, we shall heartily embrace it. And so wee pray God to have your Imperiall Majesties into His holy protection. Given at our Court at Windsor the twenty ninth day of May, one thowsand six hundred eighty six yeares, in the second year of our reigne.

Your affectionate brother,

JAMES R.

MELFORT.

Diary, pp. 150-1.

F.—Memorial of Gordon's Services to Russia in his own Handwriting.

P. I. Gordon, by birth a Scottishman, came in the quality of Major to Mosko, in the yeare 7169th [A.D. 1661], and was sent out of the ambassy into the stranger office; and in the yeare 7171 [A.D. 1663] in September, was preferred, for his comeing into the countrey, to be Lievetennent Colonell; and was in the yeare 7172 and 3 [A.D. 1664-5] at his Majesties service in Smolensko; and in the yeare 7173 [A.D. 1665], the 11th February, he was preferred, for his services, to be Colonell. In the year 7174 [A.D. 1666], he was sent on his Maiesties affaires to England. In the year 7176 [A.D. 1668], he was at service in Trubschefsky, Branskoy, and other Ukrainish townes. In the yeare 7179 [A.D. 1671] he was at Novoskol against the rebellious Cosakes; and from that yeare to the 7185th yeare [A.D. 1677], he was at service in Skewsky, and from Skewsky in the 7182, 7183, 7184, yeares [A.D. 1674—A.D. 1679], he was at service at Kaniow, Pereaslaw, and at Czegrin at the takeing of Doroschenko; and in the 7185th yeare [A.D. 1677], at the siege of Czegrin. And in the 7186th yeare [A.D. 1678], he was in Czegrin at the siege or beelaguering of [it], in which yeare the 20th of August, for his service at Czegrin, he was preferred to be Major Generall, and was at the marching of from Czegrin, until the army was dismissed the 11th of September, in the 7187 etc. [A.D. 1679]. From this yeare to the 7191 [A.D. 1683], he was at service in Kyow, in which yeare, he was, for his services, preferred to be Livetennent Generall, and was thereafter in Kyow to the 7195 yeare [A.D. 1687], in which yeare, he received the command of the Moskowish Selected Regiments of Sojours, and the same yeare, was at service in the Crimish expedition. In the 7196th yeare [A.D. 1688] the 11th of September, he was, for his services, preferred to be Generall. In the 7197th yeare [A.D. 1689], he was at service in the Crimish expedition; and in the 7198th yeare [A.D. 1690], in the expedition to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Serge.

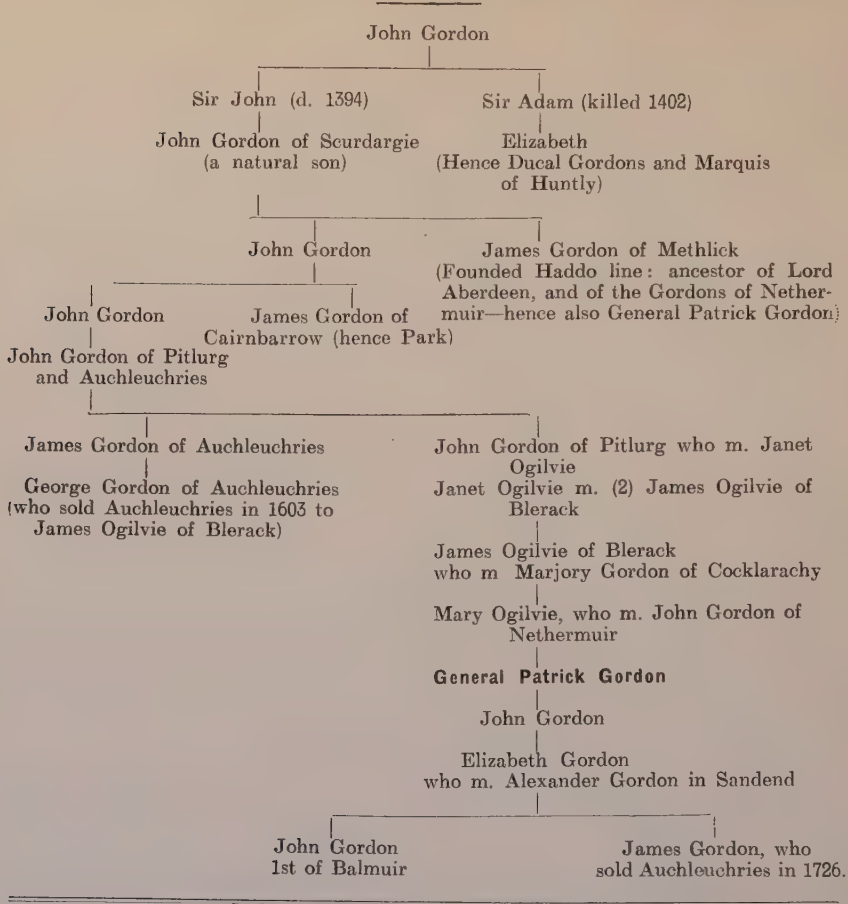
Diary, p. 172.

G.—Disposition to his son John of the Lands of Auchleuchries.

Be it knowne to all men by thir presents, that I, Patrick Gordon of Achluichries, Generall over the Selected Regiments of their Imperial Majesties of All Russia, do hereby fully and freely dispone, and give over, to my eldest son, John Gordon, the hereditary right of all the lands of Achluichries, lying within the parish of Crowden, in the shire of Aberdeen, in Scotland; reserving for me and my wife, dureing our naturall lives, the summe of three hundred merks Scottish money yearly; and for the more security thereof, my wyfe, Elisabeth Born Roonaer, to be infeft in the lands of the two pleughs of Easter Achluichries; which summe of three hundred merks yearly, is to be payed at the terme of Whitesunday next, and so, yearly, so long as I and my wyfe liveth; and to be punctually delivered to my uncle, James Gordon of Westertowne, John Gordon of Nethermuir, and Patrick Gordon of Cults, and they, or any two of them their discharges, to be sufficient acquittances, I haveing entrusted my effaires there to them; reserving also, as a portion for one of my other sons, to whom I shall assigne it, the summe of two thousand punds Scottish, which summe of two thousand punds is not to beare annuall rent until the first Whitesunday after he to whom it shall be assigned shall come to Scotland, and produce the assignation or attested copy of my testament; and for the more security hereof, a bond of provision to be made up, and that, as well as in the infiofment, to be registrate according to our Scottish formes, and these bonds and writeings to be delivered to the custody of my above mentioned ffriends, whom, also, for this and other purposes, I constitute my proctors; and because, in this remote place, wee are ignorant of the Scottish formes of such dispositions and other writeings, so have I subscrived foure sheets of paper battered together, subscrived on the margine at the battering or glewing, and at the bottome, to be filled up according to the Scottish formes, befor the same witnesses that this is subscrived, to witt, Major Generall Pawll Menezes, Collonell Alexander Leviston, and Major Hary Gordon. So done at Mosko, A.D. 1692, the eleventh of January.

Diary, pp. 178-9.

H.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GORDONS OF AUCHLEUCHRIES.


John Gordon
Sir John (d. 1394)
Sir Adam (killed 1402)
John Gordon of Scurdargie (a natural son)
Elizabeth (Hence Ducal Gordons and Marquis of Huntly)
John Gordon
James Gordon of Methlick (Founded Haddo line: ancestor of Lord Aberdeen, and of the Gordons of Nethermuir—hence also General Patrick Gordon)
John Gordon
James Gordon of Cairnbarrow (hence Park)
John Gordon of Pitlurg and Auchleuchries
James Gordon of Auchleuchries
George Gordon of Auchleuchries (who sold Auchleuchries in 1603 to James Ogilvie of Blerack)
John Gordon of Pitlurg who m. Janet Ogilvie
Janet Ogilvie m. (2) James Ogilvie of Blerack
James Ogilvie of Blerack who m Marjory Gordon of Cocklarachy
Mary Ogilvie, who m. John Gordon of Nethermuir
General Patrick Gordon
John Gordon
Elizabeth Gordon who m. Alexander Gordon in Sandend
John Gordon 1st of Balmuir
James Gordon, who sold Auchleuchries in 1726.

Charles Gordon,
who bought Auchleuchries in 1726,
son of James Gordon at Meikle Mill of Essilmont

George Gordon

Charles Gordon,
who died in 1872,
last Gordon in Auchleuchries.

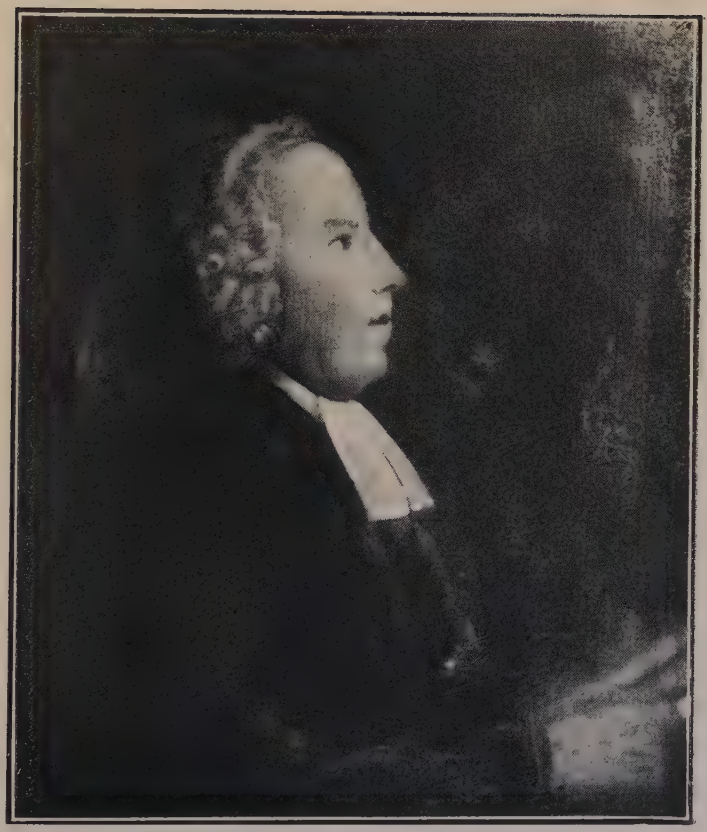
Bishop Robert Kilgour.

"In 1768 Mr Kilgour was elected to the Bishopric of Aberdeen . . . . It was a striking tribute to his ability, high character, and sterling honesty of purpose. . . . When the men of Buchan recall with pride the noble works of their fathers of old, let them spare a kindly thought for Robert Kilgour."

JOHN WILKINSON,
"Some Chapters of Church History in Buchan."

A man of uncommon benignity of mien and manner, and of the greatest private worth."

JOHN SKINNER,
"Annals of Scottish Episcopacy, 1788-1818."



BISHOP ROBERT KILGOUR.

Bishop Robert Kilgour.

Birth.

In the Register House, Edinburgh, there is preserved an interesting MS. volume bearing on its title page the inscription, "Baptisms att Cruden beginning October Anno Domini 1707; Mr William Dunbar being Minister, Mr Robert Gillies being Session-Clerk, and George Fidler, Officer." A list is also given of eleven elders, and the two following quotations are appended:—

> Impulsu et magna caecaque cupidine ducti
> Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris, at Alto
> Notum, qui pueri, qualisve futura sit uxor.*
>
> Doxa men athanato estin hapasa theo.†

Under date, 15th March, 1714, the register contains this entry (evidently in the careful handwriting of Mr Dunbar)—"Robert Kilgour in Wakemiln had twins baptized, the one called Robert, and the other called Margaret. Witnesses—Alexander Forbess and William Kilgour." ‡ The elder of these twins is the subject of this study.

Parentage.

His father, also named Robert, was a "litster" or dyer to trade, and the Walkmill referred to was situated on the banks of the Cruden burn, at a spot now marked by the clump of trees to the west of the Bishop's Bridge, and about a stone's throw from the Manse and

* "Led on by impulse and by a great natural longing, we all seek wedlock and offspring; but to the Most High is it known what children there may be, or how the wife may turn out." The quotation is from Juvenal's 10th Satire. It may be well to add that Dunbar was then a bachelor!

† "All glory be to the immortal God."

‡ Though mention is made here of the baptism and not of the birth, it is the *birth*-date which is given. I found this by comparing it with other entries. There is no sequence of dates, the custom evidently being simply to record the fact of the baptism, and to insert the date of the birth. Thus I found the birth-date of the Honble. Thos. Smith, 12th October, 1745, placed amongst baptisms, towards the end of 1746. Of course it is quite possible Kilgour was baptised as well as born on 15th March, as it was usual among Episcopalians to baptise on the day of birth or the next day.

Church. His mother was Isabel Barron, a daughter of Patrick Barron, a wright in Aberdeen, who was chosen in 1738 to be convener of the Incorporated Trades, and sister of Patrick Barron of Woodside, who founded the linen and cloth works there.* They had a numerous family. An elder brother, George, was born on 26th February, 1712, † and other sons who came to be well-known and highly respected were, Thomas (of Fraserburgh), and Patrick (of Kinmundy).‡ The tombstone of his parents in Cruden Churchyard—a flat table stone still in a good state of preservation—mentions another son, William, who died in his fourteenth year in June, 1730, and also records the death of Robert's twin sister, Margaret, a month after birth. A second Margaret, who was born in 1722, also died in infancy at the age of four. §

"The 'Fifteen."

It was a troublous time for State and Church in Scotland when Robert was born, for the Stuart dynasty was intriguing to gain a footing once more in the country, and that section of the Church which adhered to Episcopacy was practically pledged to support him. In 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the standard of rebellion, and fought the battle of Sheriffmuir, but the result was indeterminate, and when the exiled Prince landed at Peterhead, he found a sadly discouraged and fast diminishing band of followers. He therefore deemed it prudent to set sail again for France. Days of confusion and sorrow followed the rebellion. Among those involved in its consequences

* "The second Patrick Barron left the estate of Woodside to Patrick Kilgour, son of his cousin, Patrick Kilgour, Kinmundy, brother of Bishop Kilgour."—Morgan's Annals of Woodside and Newhills (Abdn. 1886).

† Register of Baptisms.

‡ "This Patrick Kilgour had a family of twenty-one children by his wife, Jane Sangster, aunt to the late Thomas Sangster, Advocate in Aberdeen. Among the large family were the first Patrick Kilgour of Woodside, Thomas Kilgour of Bethelnie (father of James Kilgour, for many years managing partner of Woodside Works), Robert Kilgour, Kinmundy; George Kilgour of Balcairn (father of the second Patrick Kilgour of Woodside), and William Kilgour of Tulloch."—Morgan's Annals of Woodside and Newhills (Abdn. 1886).

§ The full inscription on the tombstone is as follows:—"Here are deposited in hopes of a happy resurrection the remains of Robert Kilgour, some time litster at Walkmill of Cruden, where having lived upwards of LI. years, he died the XXIIId. day of Septr. in the year of our Lord MDCCLVIII., and in the LXXIId. of his age, and the remains of Isabel Barron his spouse, who died the XXIId. day of Decr. in the year MDCCLXII., and of her age the LXXVIIth. There are interred here of the children Margt., who died April 1714, IV. weeks old; another Margt., who died July 1726 in the IVth year of her age; Wilm., who died June 1730 in the XIVth year of his age; and George, who died May 1732 in the XXIst year of his age."

were the minister and the schoolmaster of Cruden. Mr Dunbar had taken no active part in the rebellion, but he was a strong Episcopalian, and ranked as an 'intruder" in the eyes of the law, having been appointed to his charge after the Revolution Settlement of 1689. He had also been rash enough during the rebellion openly to show his hand, and no sooner was peace restored than the ecclesiastical authorities came down upon him. On 5th October, 1716, he was formally deposed by the Synod of Aberdeen; and though for a time he withstood the sentence (his congregation to a man rallying round him), yet a fresh action was raised before the Lords of Justiciary on a charge of "intruding into the Parish Church, leason-making, and praying for the Pretender"; and on 1st March, 1718, a sentence was obtained ordering his removal from the Parish. The schoolmaster was Mr Alexander Keith, who was appointed to Cruden in the year of the Rebellion. He was a son of the minister of Deer, and had a sister married in the parish of Cruden to a dyer called George Irvine—possibly a servant in the employment of Kilgour's father. Being less in the public eye than the minister, the schoolmaster was left for a time unmolested. Indeed when the first Presbyterian minister was appointed to the Parish, and complained to the Presbytery of certain "gross abuses committed in the church during the time of Divine worship by the schoolboys," the Presbytery appealed to Mr Keith to help the minister in securing their correction. But his loyalty was under suspicion; and after Dunbar had left, he was cited three different times to appear at Ellon to sign the Confession of Faith and a declaration of attachment to the Government. Having failed to put in an appearance he was deposed by the Presbytery on 18th May, 1720. His deposition, however, had little effect. In 1722 the Presbytery appointed Mr James Philip to the school at Cruden, but a year afterwards Philip came up to them with the pitiful tale that he had got access neither to the school nor its emoluments, and as late as 1724 we find that Mr Keith was still acting as schoolmaster. About that time, however, he seems voluntarily to have demitted office. He had, as a matter of fact, been acting since Mr Dunbar's removal as minister of the dispossessed Episcopal congregation; and the inference is that he now resolved to devote himself entirely to his ministerial duties. *

Education.

Doubtless these events made a deep impression on the mind of the youthful Kilgour. The parish school was situated near his

* See "Cruden and Its Ministers," and "Three Scots Bishops,"

father's house, on the same side of the burn, and about fifty yards to the north of the Bishop's Bridge. There he would be sent to school at a very early age, and may indeed have been one of the urchins whom Mr Keith was asked to correct for disturbing the harmony of the Presbyterian worship. Certain it is that Keith gave him his first lessons, and in all probability he was under Keith's care till he went to the University. His parents, being attached members of the Episcopal Church, would look askance on the Presbyterian regime both in church and school, and the heroes of Kilgour's boyhood would be Dunbar and Keith. Their names and the story of their hardships would be constantly upon his parents' lips; and at a very early age he seems to have made up his mind to follow in their footsteps and to become a minister of the Church which was served amid persecution by men of such eminence and zeal. When he was fifteen he went to King's College, Aberdeen (for in 1729 we find his name, "Robert Kilgour, Buchanensis," entered in the list of alumni), * and four years later, on 29th March, 1733, he graduated there Master of Arts. † During the next five years he seems to have devoted himself to deliberate preparation for the work of the ministry; for on 25th April (St. Mark's Day), 1738, he was ordained a Priest in the Episcopal Meeting-house in Peterhead, and given charge of the congregation there in succession to Mr Hepburn. ‡ The officiating Bishop, singular to narrate, was the minister of his childhood. § In 1727 Mr Dunbar had been appointed a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, and in 1733 had been given charge of the diocese of Aberdeen. He had also made his home in Peterhead, so that until the date of his death in 1746, Kilgour was blest with his companionship and counsel. ‖

* Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen (New Spalding Club—Anderson), p. 65.

† Eleven others graduated with Kilgour. The regents during his University course were John Ker, afterwards Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, and Alexander Burnet, a son of the minister of Monymusk, who, in 1742, became Sub-Principal. If, as is most probable, the latter followed the faith of his father, he may have felt very kindly towards the young Buchan student, and helped greatly to encourage his aspirations to be a minister of the Episcopal Church.—Ibid.—p. 231.

‡ Mr Hepburn was Episcopal minister at Peterhead from 1713. He seems to have died about Nov. 1737, as his salary was paid to that date.—Church History in Buchan, p. 71.

§ Kilgour's Letters of Orders (Priest's) bearing Bishop Dunbar's signature will be found in Appendix A.

‖ "Mr William Dunbar, Cruden, after his deprivation, settled in Peterhead."—Church History in Buchan, p. 68 He seemed to have helped in building the church there in 1731—his name appears in the list of persons who purchased the site,

Congregation at Peterhead.

The congregation of which he was asked to take charge (now St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Peterhead) was certainly an active one. It embraced at least half the population of Peterhead, and some of the worthiest families—Arbuthnots, Gordons, Forbeses, etc. We have no figures of the relative strength of the Episcopal community at the time of Kilgour's appointment; but in 1764 when the inhabitants of Peterhead numbered 1266, "the Episcopals in the town and adjacent country parts" numbered 642. In 1769, when the population had risen to 1518, the Episcopal congregation had increased to 700. The Rev. Dr Moir, who wrote the description of the parish for the old 'Statistical Account of Scotland' (published in 1793) states that during the early years of Kilgour's ministry "there were no dissenters from the Established Church but Episcopals"; and he adds—"That persuasion for a long time was the prevailing mode of religion, and it is still professed by the wealthiest inhabitants of the town." *

Both the activity and strength of the Episcopalians is borne out by the fact that as early as 1731 they found themselves in a position to build a chapel. It was a modest building, restricted by the site and accommodating forty pews, but it was not without distinction. In the treasurer's account book we find a charge of £19 2s 9d "for lead and a gilded ball and cross for the cupola," and another of £24 sterling "for boxing and painting the chappell." † The total cost of its erection was £329 (Scots), of which about "£60 was gathered by voluntary subscription, and the rest . . . raised on loan." ‡ By 1738, when Kilgour was asked to become minister, the loan had been repaid. The treasurer's statement of accounts for that year indeed shows a very sound financial position. The income (Scots money) amounted to £578 4s 10d, of which £240 16s 0d was received from seat-rents, £311 12s 2d from collections, £7 8s 6d from the sale of "bad babees," and £18 8s 2d "left in dytes." § Out of this revenue the minister was paid an annual salary of £240. This was the sum at least paid to Mr Hepburn, Kilgour's predecessor. Kilgour, "being a young man and inexperienced," was paid for a time merely half that sum, viz., £120 Scots or £12 Sterling. ¶

* Church History in Buchan, p. 82.
† Pratt's Buchan, 3rd Edition, p. 381.
‡ Church History in Buchan, p. 69.
§ The "bad babees" were spurious or foreign coins with which the managers were doubtless only too willing to part: the "dytes" or "doits" were coins equal in value to the twelfth of a penny which they evidently kept in reserve.
¶ Church History in Buchan, p. 71.

Peaceful Days.

For the first seven years of his ministry, Kilgour pursued a peaceful path, preaching Sunday by Sunday to his flock in the Meeting-house, and during the week ministering to them in their homes. The records of his church supply few details of these years, but enough remains to show that they were years of steady growth and progress, and that had circumstances befriended him the unity of his church would have remained unbroken and its prosperity undimmed. * He was peace-loving and kindly, shrewd in his estimates of men, and unfailing in his judgments of affairs. He had a high sense of honour and an exalted conception of the duties of his sacred office. He was modest and unassuming, content to win his way by sheer force of character. Mr Skinner in his "Annals of Scottish Episcopacy" speaks of him as "a man of uncommon benignity of mien and manner, and of the greatest private worth."† Dr Pratt also throws an interesting sidelight on his character by a story which reveals a real sense of humour and helps to explain how for so long a period his Jacobitism was connived at by the authorities. At one time, it seems, the troops stationed at Peterhead were commanded by the son of a dignitary of the Church of England. This officer was on the friendliest terms with Kilgour and frequently invited him to dine at the mess. When the Royal toast was proposed, he was amused to find that his clerical guest invariably paraphrased it, "Our lawful King." With the breeding of a gentleman, however, he took no notice of the fact. A young subaltern thought he would bring his chief to a sense of duty. One night as the words, "Our lawful King," escaped Kilgour's lips, the subaltern hotly exclaimed, "That, sir, is not King George." "I take you all to witness, gentlemen," quietly rejoined Kilgour, "that this young officer declares that King George is not our lawful King!" Needless to say, it was a case of the biter bit.‡

"The 'Forty-five."

Alas for Kilgour! stern days were in front, for the cause which distressed the Episcopal Church in the days of his boyhood was destined during his ministry to bring upon it yet greater calamities and misfortunes. In July, 1745, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," son of

* Church History in Buchan, p. 72.
† Annals of Scottish Episcopacy, 1788-1818, p. 19 of Preface.
‡ Pratt's Buchan, 3rd Edition, Appendix p. 382.

the Prince who led the ill-fated rising of 1715, landed on the west coast of Scotland, and following his father's example, raised the standard of revolt. The highland chiefs rallied around him; he marched on Edinburgh and defeated the royal troops under Cope at Prestonpans; and for a few brief months it seemed as if his cause had a chance of success. But at Derby his march south was stayed; and he began that disastrous retreat northwards which ended in the inglorious defeat of Culloden Moor on 16th April, 1746. No sooner was the rebellion crushed and the highlanders scattered amid the fastnesses of their native hills, than a new persecution of Episcopacy began. For the most part the Episcopalians had sided with the Prince. * Many had taken up arms on his behalf, and penal statutes of the severest description were now passed against them. Meeting-houses were declared illegal and were ruthlessly torn down or burned. The laity were forbidden to meet privately in greater numbers than five at a time, the penalty attached to transgression being either a fine or imprisonment. The ministers were required to take all oaths of loyalty to the Government, and to pray for King George by name, or else to suffer six months' imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for life for the second. †

The minister and congregation of the Episcopal Church at Peterhead felt these penalties in their full force. Their meeting-house was declared to be a nest of sedition, and was ordered to be destroyed. In a note appended by Kilgour to a Minute of date 16th May, 1746, he tells the story of its destruction :—"The Chapell of Peterhead was destroyed the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of May, 1746, and the Managers were obliged to Employ Workmen, and pay them, in order to prevent its being Sett on fire, wch. would Indangered Burning the Town. It was done by orders of Lord Ancrum (Lieut. Collonell of Lord Mark Ker's Dragoons) who was at the Entring the People to Work." The taking down cost the Managers £1 15s 6d—the wages of 14 men for two and a half days at 1/- per day, and 6d "to John

* Mr Wilkinson writes :—"The Church, as a church, had been innocent of all complicity in the Rising. Only two of her clergy had followed the Chevalier's army: and it was notorious that sympathy with the exiled House was not confined to any one section of the Scottish people." I fear the guilt of the Episcopal church cannot be so lightly dismissed. Certainly the church acting in a corporate capacity gave no support to the Rebellion, but it is notorious that Jacobite sympathy leavened her ministry and membership through and through. Can *one* Episcopal minister be mentioned who protested against it? That other sections of the Scottish people were equally guilty does not diminish the blame incurred by the Episcopal church. There was no section so guilty *as a whole*.

† Cunningham's Church History of Scotland, Vol. II., p. 328.

Clark for building off entry." As Mr Wilkinson remarks, "To be obliged to pay for the destruction of one's own property, is either a grim sort of humour or the refinement of cruelty!"*

Kilgour considered his loyalty to the exiled House a question of conscience and refused to take the prescribed oaths. The result was that for many a day he found his position hazardous. Unlike his illustrious contemporary, John Skinner of Linshart, the author of "Tullochgorum," who was minister of the Episcopal congregation at Longside, and who suffered six months' imprisonment for assembling his flock in greater numbers than was allowed, he managed to keep on the right side of the law, but in order to do so he gave himself endless labour. His method of circumventing it was as follows. He would ask a number of his congregation to meet at a certain house; he himself and four others would go into one of the rooms; the window of that room would then be taken out and the door left open; and the rest of the congregation would assemble within earshot either in the passage-way or outside. The service proceeded, and the unseen worshippers joined with those inside the room in the prayers and praises. Even under favourable conditions, the company which could thus assemble was small, and a writer in 1845 states that "individuals were lately alive who recollected Mr Kilgour performing Divine services twelve and fourteen times on a Sunday at differnt houses, where as many attended as could join in the service without being seen to the clergyman or could collect without attracting the notice of the military."†

A New Chapel.

For the long period of twenty-one years Episcopalians in Peterhead were without a church, and for fourteen of these years Kilgour seems to have kept his flock together by this hazardous and unsatisfactory method. Even had he wished to conform, the power to do so after 1748 was denied him. In that year an amending act was passed under which the registration of orders from a Scottish Bishop was declared to be null and void, so that he had either to unfrock himself or to continue as he was doing. Partial relief came, however, with the death of George the Second in 1760. Tolerance then gained ground, and Government took a kindlier view of Episcopal defalca-

* Article on the Chappell of St. Peter by Mr Wilkinson. See also Pratt's Buchan, 3rd Edition, pp. 380-2.

† Church History in Buchan p. 77.

tions. Informers were discountenanced, and vexatious interference with Episcopal services ceased. Kilgour thus found it possible to invite his congregation to his own home, a large, roomy house, facing North Harbour at the foot of Port Henry Lane, and here for the next few years they met regularly for worship each Sunday. In a short time the idea was suggested, and speedily gained ground, that they should build a new church, but Kilgour, who had been through the fires of tribulation, pleaded with them to do nothing rash. He was not averse from the idea so long as it consisted with safety to himself and to his flock, but when certain of the most influential members proposed to build the new church on the site of the former, and to bring its frontage out to the street, he felt constrained to address to them the following letter, under date 9th February, 1765, which shows how anxiously he regarded the situation even then, and how deeply the iron had entered into his soul:—

"Gentlemen,—Ever since the afflicting Providence whereby we were deprived of our House for Public Worship, and subjected to new penalties for our adherence to the Communion of that part of the Catholic Church in this Nation, I thought it my duty to run every risque that was thought reasonable in the discharge of my Office, and to study the conveniency of the Congregation to the utmost of my power. It therefore cannot but grieve me in the most sensible manner to be thought now less concerned for their conveniency and the good of the Church than is consistent with my duty, and to have prejudices raised against me on this account, as you are not ignorant is the case. To remove these prejudices, to vindicate my own conduct, and to make a proposal which will, I hope, by the blessing of God bring about an equitable accommodation of the matter we differ in, is the reason of this trouble I give you.

I am still sensible of, I daily feel and regret, the no small inconveniences we labour under for want of a more enlarged and convenient place to meet in for the Public Worship, and I have often expressed my inclination to concur in any reasonable scheme for getting a convenient House erected here again. You may believe (that) the old ground, where it pitieth us to see our late elegant House lye in its ruins, would have been most eligible to me, as I know it would be to you, to have a new one raised on, had not the place been too straitened in its exent, and too public in its situation in our circumstances. To remedy both these in the best manner I could think of, I proposed to purchase the land immediately at the back of the old ground, and (I)

communicated this to more than one of your number, who approved of the same and undertook to do everything they could to procure me the purchase of said land. In which case I engaged to give what ground might be thought necessary by building a new place of worship immediately at the back of the old, whereby the old ground would not be lost, nor, I think, misapplied, but contribute not a little to the beauty and conveniency of the House by being an open area before it. The entry from the Fore Street would still be continued; upon which I proposed there should be a closed gate, and the wall raised a considerable height above, so as that, I think, the congregation could go in and out without being seen from the Broadgate; that the gate should continue shut for some time at least, and the congregation go in and out at the gate of a feu at the back of it: thereby using all the caution possible, and shunning observation as far as in us lye, which in our circumstances I think absolutely necessary. I hope the gentlemen to whom I communicated my mind on this subject will do me the justice to own that this is the only plan I ever agreed to: and hereby I declare, and have ever declared, that I am willing to concur in this or any other scheme for getting a Place of Worship where the same caution and retiredness is consulted.

I am informed that the generality of the gentlemen, Managers for the old Chappell, and not a few others of the Congregation, think no such caution necessary, and therefore are for having a new Chappell built upon the old ground, or rather still nearer the publick street, and without any entry from the street. I am sorry I cannot concur with them in this, because I think it would not consist with my safety, and might be of very dangerous consequences to the poor remains of the Church in this corner, for me to purpose to officiate in a Place of Worship erected in so public a place and in so distinguished a manner, as none else in the Kingdom is so far as I know, and when by reason of the concourse of strangers here in the season of drinking the mineral water, I think we are more likely to be taken notice of than in any place I can think of. This is lookt upon by some as no sufficient reason for my not concurring, and, perhaps, as a blameable timidity and weakness. But if it be so, I cannot help it, and all, I think, must grant that I can do nothing of this kind that hath a more natural tendency to draw a persecution on myself; and should it have that effect, who would not say it was the fruit of my own imprudence? And if it should begin, it might probably not end with me, but extend to others, and then how could I answer for it either to God or my Bishop,

to whom the care of this Church is committed? And to convince you that it is not humour or obstinacy, but a sense of duty and conscience, that keeps me from concurring in this matter, let me beg it of you as a favour that you'll be pleased to lay it before my superior, your Bishop and mine; and I hereby engage readily to acquiesce in whatever he shall determine, be the consequence what it will, and then if I suffer it will be in the road of my duty, and in obedience to him whom I ought to obey; and if the Church suffer damage I will not then be accountable.

Your compliance with this request will add to the many obligations I already lye under to you, and believe me to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate, very much obliged,
and faithful humble servant,

ROBERT KILGOUR.

Peterhead, 9th Febry., 1765."

His counsels prevailed. The old site in the Broadgate was sold to William Sellar for £14, and another site was secured in a narrow country lane running from the north of the Broadgate, subsequently known as Chapel Wynd and now Chapel Street. The ground was bought from Mr John Thain at Newmiln of Pitfarnie for £55 9s 3d. Here a commodious building was erected at a cost of £467 16s 0¾d. The Managers had £103 in hand from the old Chapel funds; £290 was raised on loan, and the balance was met by subscription. The new "House" was formally opened for public worship in November, 1767.*

Appointment to the Diocese of Aberdeen.

Honour if not reward came to Kilgour in the following year when a successor had to be appointed to Bishop Gerard of Aberdeen. At first the presbyters of the diocese, at a meeting held on 5th May, elected Bishop Robert Forbes of Ross†—the vote was 7 to 4. The College of Bishops, however, refused to confirm the appointment, stating as their reasons that he was non-resident (he lived at Leith), and that they wished another *added* to their number rather than selected from amongst them; but possibly the real reason was Forbes' aggressiveness. "No doubt," says Dean Walker, "Forbes had the

* Church History in Buchan pp. 78—82.
† The diocese of Ross and Caithness was afterwards conjoined with that of Moray.

defects of his qualities, and on occasion these probably gave trouble to his easy-going colleagues." There seems also to have been strong opposition to the election of Forbes on the part of the minority, and a desire to honour one of their own number. At an early stage the Primus wrote to Dean Smith of Aberdeen "recommending Mr Kilgour of Peterhead," and his cause was also championed by the redoubtable Skinner of Linshart, and his brilliant son, Kilgour's successor. The father, indeed, enlisted his poetical gifts in championing Kilgour's cause.

> Poor is thy Church, O North! thy manners naught!
> Not one in all the circle of sixteen,
> Sufficient for the charge of Aberdeen;
> Else why, as conscious of thy want of worth,
> Thus beg a prelate from beyond the Forth?
> Why thus to Leith in quest of titles roam,
> And seek abroad what might be found at home?

The result was that at a second meeting of Presbyters held on 16th August, Kilgour was chosen by "a fair majority."* As Mr Wilkinson says, "It was a striking tribute to his ability, high character, and sterling honesty of purpose; incidentally, it demonstrated the sympathy of the clergy with his well-known views on the relations of Church and State."† His election having been sustained, he was consecrated at Cupar, Fife, on 21st September—St. Matthew's Day—the bishops who took part in his consecration being Falconer of Moray, Raitt of Brechin, and Alexander of Dunkeld.‡

* Letter of Primus to Bishop Alexander, 27 Aug., 1768.

† Church History in Buchan, p. 83. Within three months of his election Kilgour was able to report to Bishop Alexander "The Presbytery who made me their choice have been wanting in no testimonies of goodwill and respect." Letter dated from Peterhead, 15th December, 1768.

‡ Dowden's Bishops of Scotland, p. 408. As bishop, Kilgour himself took part in the following consecrations:—Bishop Petrie of Moray, on 27th June, 1776 at Dundee; Bishop John Skinner, Coadjutor of Aberdeen, on 25th September, 1782, at Luthermuir; Bishop Macfarlane of Ross and Moray, on 7th March, 1787, at Peterhead; Bishop William Abernethy Drummond of Brechin (afterwards of Edinburgh); and Bishop John Strachan, Coadjutor of Brechin, both on 26th September, 1787, at Peterhead.

His Deed of Consecration will be found in Appendix B. In a letter sent by Bishop William Skinner to Bishop Torry (quoted in Mr Walker's life of Bishop Gleig p. 344 note) he stated:—"Bishop Kilgour was consecrated by only two Bishops—Bishops Raitt and Alexander." This was due to a misreading of the minutes which speak of "all the other bishops, who were now only Raitt and Alexander," convening for the purpose: but it is evident the Primus is reckoned apart. The Deed of Consecration together with the Certificate to Bishop Kilgour (Appendix C), and the letter to the Presbyters of Aberdeen (Appendix D) certainly put the matter beyond question.

An Unfortunate Schism.

Unfortunately Kilgour's elevation to the Bishopric of Aberdeen proved only the beginning of fresh troubles to himself. In 1770 the Episcopal minister of Lonmay died, and Bishop Kilgour immediately nominated as his successor the Rev. William Sangster (afterwards Dean) who, like himself, was a confessed non-juror, and had refused to swear obedience to the House of Hanover. There was an immediate outcry. The civil authorities regarded Sangster's appointment as an act of defiance, and retaliated by closing not only the Episcopal Church in Lonmay, but also the chapels in Peterhead and Fraserburgh. The dread of persecution shown by Kilgour in his letter of 1765 was, therefore, not groundless; and though we may question Mr Wilkinson's opinion that the form in which it asserted itself showed "a fox-like cunning," it certainly bore harshly on the Episcopal community in these places, and had disastrous results for Kilgour and his congregation. The managers of the chapel at Peterhead, ignoring the point at issue, or simply weary of strife, took the view that the Bishop had committed an error of judgment, and asked him to annul the appointment of Mr Sangster to Lonmay. Kilgour refused—this was not a question of expediency, but a matter of conscience. The Managers, however, had the support of a large section of the congregation; and having failed to convert the Bishop to their view, they addressed to him the following petition :—

"Right Reverend Sir,—As we are convinced you are sensible of the great hardship and inconveniences it is both to you and us to have our Chappell, so lately built for public worship, shutt up, we doubt not but you will readily concurr with us in any reasonable scheme for getting relief. We can think of no method at present but by a private application. But, as you know, the only reason given for shutting up our Chappell, and also that of Fraserburgh, was the placing Mr Sangster at Lonmay, and as it would be absurd in us to attempt any application or to hope to obtain any success without removing the cause, and, as we apprehend, this is only in your power to execute, and which we hope you will not have the least difficulty in doing, when you consider that as matters stand at present, and likely to continue, the people of Lonmay can reap very little spiritual advantage from Mr Sangster's ministry, who, we hear, is scarce in safety to be seen among them,

Wherefore (we) hope you will agree to removing Mr Sangster from Lonmay altogether, when we are not without hopes, by proper application, to be allowed to open the Chappell, in which case we hope you will have no objections to officiate there as formerly.

As twice before some of our members have attempted to persuade you to this, and have obtained no direct answer, we now beg you will give us a positive and determined one, which may be directed to Mr William Scott, present treasurer of the Chappell, who will communicate same to us; and we earnestly entreat it may be favourable and that you'll seriously consider (that) a contrary one may be attended with the most pernicious consequences, not only to the members of your own congregation, but to the whole town in general."

Kilgour however remained firm. To sacrifice Mr Sangster would have been to condemn himself; and he broke off all communication with the remonstrants, intimating to them that unless they were prepared to give him their obedience, he would minister no longer in "that house," viz., the newly built Episcopal Church in Peterhead. It is sad to narrate that the result was a schism in the Episcopal community which lasted for over forty years. The managers invited members of the congregation who sided with them to meet on 18th January, 1771; and they adopted the following Minute:—"Bishop Kilgour having now given a positive answer refusing to officiate in the Chapel on the terms offered him, we the subscribers, proprietors of the Chapel, and members of the Episcopal congregation of Peterhead, have come to a resolution to make application for a qualified clergyman to officiate there, and unanimously agree to adhere to him, and to become bound for a stipend of £45 sterling per annum." They asked Dr James Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, to recommend a minister to them, and he suggested the name of a Fraserburgh student, Mr William Laing, who had just completed his Divinity course at King's College. Laing was described as "an excellent scholar, and a very ingenious young man"; of "a generous and compassionate heart," as having been bred originally in the "Episcopal persuasion," and as possessing "a strong attachment to the Church of England." Luckily for the managers and their followers, Dr Trail, Bishop of Down and Connor, who happened to be on tour in Scotland at that time, agreed to admit him to holy orders, and his appointment was therefore confirmed.

"Bishop Kilgour with the majority of his people found sanctuary in a new chapel on the south side of Broad Street." *

Primus.

That Kilgour's attitude evoked general sympathy, and that the confidence of the Church at large was in no way shaken by his action or its consequences, is evidenced by the fact that on 25th September, 1782, he was elevated to the office of Primus in succession to Bishop Falconer, and was given the services of John Skinner as his coadjutor bishop.† The post of Primus was no sinecure, for the times were stormy, and he fell heir to feuds and passions evoked in other days. It says much for his wisdom that he guided the ship of the Church in safety through the troubled waters and escaped shipwreck. He has been accused of having "a timid disposition."‡ Dean Walker says of him:—"He was a good man, but apparently deficient in energy, initiative, and courage, for these trying times"; and Dr Craven expresses the opinion that he was unfit for his charge, "because of the lowness of his spirits which at times distressed him much." There seems, however, little ground for these accusations, which apparently rested on the method adopted by him in order to circumvent the law after the rebellion of "the Forty-five," and on the statement of his

* Mr Laing proved "an able and popular divine." He received a degree in medicine from the University of Aberdeen. He also "dabbled in literature" and published in 1793, "An Account of Peterhead: its Mineral Well, Air, and Neighbourhood." He signed the Articles of Union (i.e., between the Scottish and English Episcopal Churches in Scotland) in 1803, but continued minister of his separate charge till his death in 1812.—"Church History in Buchan," p. 92.

The Broad Street Chapel was situated on the south side, "on the site of the present branch office of the Clydesdale Bank. Part of the old property is still standing. It was a property of some size and the ground extended back to James Street. After the death of Mrs Kilgour in 1805, the property passed to her daughter Katherine, wife of William Shivas, who sold it for £560 to John Hutchison merchant in Peterhead. It now belongs to Mr John Mitchell, Fishcurer." Ibid., p. 91. Note.

Here Kilgour ministered to his flock till 1789, when the Rev. Patrick Torry, his assistant and successor, assumed the full pastoral care. He proved a singularly wise and able minister. In 1908 he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld. Ten years previously he had succeeded in securing a new Church for his congregation in Merchant Street, on the site of the present building (the cost was £850 and the seating accommodation 500); and here after Mr Laing's death the congregation were reunited in 1812. "For business purposes the managers of Mr Laing's chapel preserved their separate identity till 1824, when the last meeting of the surviving subscribers was held, and the funds of the old chapel were finally merged in the new."—Ibid., pp. 86, 98, and 99.

† Bishop John Skinner proved one of the most notable of the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. For an account of his services at the time of the Seabury Consecration of *infra* pp. 65-72.

‡ Church History in Buchan, p. 77.

own letter regarding his personal safety addressed to the congregation in 1765, regarding the building of a new Church. But surely these are slender grounds for so sweeping an accusation. There is no virtue in foolhardiness. Kilgour in these instances simply showed an ordinary prudence, and was moved as much by regard for the welfare of his flock as by considerations for himself. Indeed his firmness in the Sangster case is a sufficient refutation of the charge. Had he been a timid man, he would undoubtedly have yielded to expediency; and it says much for his courage that he preferred to risk influence, happiness, and material prosperity, rather than yield to the demands of his managers. His attitude in the spring of 1784 to the proposal of Bishop Falconer to consecrate Dr Abernethy Drummond as his co-adjutor also proves him to have been a man of both firmness and conviction. Drummond was difficult—for years he had been at arms akimbo with most of his brethren, and at that moment was especially obnoxious to them. Yet Falconer, to suit his own covenience, insisted on his consecration; and threatened, "in case of refusal, to consecrate him myself." Bishop Rose counselled yielding, though against his better judgment." "I cannot help thinking," wrote Kilgour in reply, "there is as much if not more danger in this, than in a warm remonstrance against it; and that we should be more blameable, if not altogether inexcusable, if we did not interpose our authority, declare against it, and warn them of their sin and danger. I am sure [that] to pass over in silence such a threatened contempt of the Canons * . . . could not miss to put an end to our authority—yea, and to make us contemptible in the sight of all those who have a regard to the order, peace, and welfare of the Church. To the attainment of which may God direct all our deliberations and determinations."† That letter evinces no deficiency surely either in "energy, initiative, or courage." And Kilgour carried his point—Drummond was not consecrated till three years later. ‡ He was certainly cautious (for that reason his brethren may have felt the greater confidence in him); but he had the singular merit, as Dean Walker himself points out, of being able, even when he had reached his seventieth year, to throw off ancient prejudices and to act in consort with younger men more alive to the

* The reference is to the Canons of 1743, which insist on the presence of three Bishops, at a Consecration Service.

† Letter—Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Petrie, 13th March, 1784.

‡ See footnote *Supra* p. 60.

needs of their day. * Especially was this seen when the question arose which was destined to give lasting remembrance to his rule, and which against all faction and criticism he determined to answer in the affirmative, viz., Should, or should not, the Episcopal Church in Scotland consecrate an American Bishop, debarred by political loyalty from obtaining consecration in England?

THE SEABURY CONSECRATION.

(1) The Nature of the Difficulty.

That question came to the front in a somewhat singular fashion. Until the American War of Independence broke out in 1775, the colonies now comprehended in the United States of America were regarded as part of the diocese of the Bishop of London; and any clergy who were sent out as missionaries received for the most part ordination at his hands. † The issue of the war made that arrangement impossible. It confirmed the resolution of the Americans to set up an independent government; and the Protestant Episcopal Church found herself without the means of continuing her life—she had no bishop. Not only so, the long duration of the war had sadly thinned the ranks of the clergy. The Church was reduced "to a very low condition and almost in danger of extinction." ‡ Among the far sighted at home her plight aroused a real sympathy; and in Nov., 1782, the Rev. Dr George Berkeley, an English Divine with an intimate knowledge of the difficulties, § wrote to Bishop Skinner suggesting that the Scottish Church might come to the rescue of the colonies by sending out an "itinerant bishop." "A bishop consecrated by a Prelate of the English or Irish Church," he stated, "would find considerably stronger prejudices against him in the revolted colonies, than would one who had been called to the highest order by the Scotch Church—our Bishops and those of Ireland having been nominated

* Cf. Walker's Life and Times of John Skinner, p. 33. In contrast with the older race of Scottish Bishops, who still regard the Church of England as "schismatical," he speaks of Bishop Kilgour as "exhibiting a wise moderation." This is only one instance.

† Ecclesiastical History of Scotland—Skinner of Longside (Lond. 1788), Vol. II., p. 683.

‡ Life of Bishop White of Pennsylvania.

§ Dr George Berkeley, a son of the Bishop of Cloyne, whose "Theory of Matter" marked an epoch in philosophical research, was appointed Vicar of Bray in Berkshire in 1771. He was also a Prebendary of Canterbury. He died 1795. His knowleldge of the position of the Church in America was doubtless gained through friendship with American missionaries.

for consecration by a Sovran, against whom the colonists have rebelled, and whom you have never recognised. The Americans would (even many of the Episcopalians amongst them) entertain political jealousies concerning a Bishop connected with us; they would be apt to think of him as a foe to their wild project of Independency, etc." * Bishop Skinner replied stating that the suggestion had been sympathetically received. "Our worthy Primus, Bp. Kilgour at Peterhead," he wrote, "admires the warmth and energy with which you recommend your proposal. It is an object, he writes, that deserves the highest attention, and which he is persuaded all and every Bp. of our poor church will be ready to do everything in their power to accomplish. But we much stand in need of your aid, he fears, and that of some of your well-affected brethren, both to lay and execute the plan." And Bishop Skinner proceeded to indicate the obstacles which would have to be overcome, the chief of which was to find a suitable nominee.†

(2) The American Church takes Action.

Meantime, all unknown to these correspondents, the American Church herself had take action. On 25th March, 1783, a few weeks before peace was proclaimed, the clergy of Connecticut met secretly at Woodbury, and selected two of their number, the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming and the Rev. Samuel Seabury, as suitable, either of them, to go to England and obtain Episcopal Consecration. Mr Leaming declined to undertake the responsibility on account of his advanced age, but Dr Seabury signified his willingness; and having been armed with the necessary credentials he set sail. On his arrival the English bishops received him graciously, but were uncertain how to act. They were thirled fast to the favour of King George and his Government, and for a year they kept Dr Seabury waiting, politely excusing themselves for what they termed a necessary delay. "It need only be said by way of explanation," writes Dean Wilson, "that the Archbishop of Canterbury, though personally willing to facilitate his consecration, was advised that an oath of allegiance to the King (which, of course, an American citizen could not take) could only be omitted from the consecration service by the authority of an Act of Parliament. And it was feared that political jealousies might ensue

* Letter—Dr Berkeley to Bishop Skinner, 18th Nov., 1782.
† Letter—Bishop Skinner to Dr Berkeley, 21st Dec., 1782.

should Parliament be applied to for such an act, unless the State Assembly of Connecticut had previously given a formal sanction to the scheme by which the clergy of the State hoped to complete their Episcopal organisation." * At last Dr Seabury grew weary, and began to look in a different direction for the fulfilment of his hopes. It formed part of his original instructions that "if none of the regular bishops of the Church of England would ordain him, he should go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a non-juring Bishop." † To Scotland he therefore turned, and on 31st August, 1784, he addressed a formal application to the "good bishops" there, through his friend the Rev. Dr Myles Cooper of Edinburgh.

(3) The Attitude of the Scottish Bishops.

He found the ground prepared. In November of the previous year (1783) Dr Berkeley, on hearing of Dr Seabury's arrival in England, had reopened correspondence with Bishop Skinner. "Surely," he wrote, "the Scotch prelates, who are not shackled by any Erastian connexion will not send this suppliant empty away." ‡ Bishop Skinner replied expressing his pleasure at Dr Seabury's arrival, and promising to write again as soon as he knew the sentiments of the other Bishops. He did so on 8th December, and embodied the following letter which he had received from Bishop Kilgour: "By the enclosed you will see that there is no objection made to, but a hearty concurrence in, the proposal for introducing Protestant Episcopacy into America, and that all things bid fair for the candidate. I hope indeed that the motion is from, and the plan laid under, the direction of the Holy Spirit. But as it is a matter of the greatest importance, it is necessary we go about our part in it with the utmost circumspection, and that we be not only ascertained of the candidate's piety, learning, and principles, but also know whether the proposal is only from himself, or if it is a plan laid with his American brethren, or if he is recommended and his consecration solicited by them. It would also be convenient to know why the English bishops denied him consecration. If we can get satisfaction on these points I think it would be proper he should come to Scotland; and none is so fit for procuring us the necessary information as Dr Berkeley, with whom

* Scottish Church Review 1884, p. 85.
† Letter of Rev. D. Fogg (an elector) in Beardsley's life of Seabury, p. 104.
‡ Letter—Dr Berkeley to Bishop Skinner, 24th Nov., 1783.

I hope you will renew your correspondence on this important affair." * The "enclosed" referred to in Bishop Kilgour's letter were the opinions of the other bishops. Bishop Petrie of Moray was enthusiastic in his support. "My humble opinion," he wrote, "is that a return should be sent without loss of time, signifying our approbation of the proposal, and willing readiness to comply with it." † Bishop Falconar of Edinburgh was indifferent. "I prescribe to no one, every gentleman may act as he thinks proper." ‡ Bishop Rose of Dunkeld had "no objection but one, which I presume will easily be got rid of, and that is his having got orders from the schismatical Church of England." But he had no doubt when Dr Seabury came to this country, he would "give all manner of satisfaction." §

(4) Dr Seabury Expresses his Gratitude.

Dr Berkeley immediately answered Bishop Skinner, giving the necessary assurances and explanations; and steps were taken to acquaint Dr Seabury that the Scottish Bishops were ready to forward his mission. On 24th May he wrote to America to ascertain the opinion of the clergy of Connecticut, but he waited in vain for an answer and nothing further happened until the personal application of Dr Seabury, above referred to, came to hand. A fortnight after its receipt Bishop Kilgour sent the following reply through the Rev. John Allan of Edinburgh:—"Dr Seabury's long silence, after it had been signified to him that the Bishops of this Church would comply with his proposals, made them all think that the affair was dropped; . . . but his letter, and the manner in which he accounts for his conduct, give such satisfaction, that I have the pleasure to inform you that we are still willing to comply with his proposal; to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the Western world the blessing of a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy; not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on Catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of religion. . . . As I cannot

* Letter—Bishop Skinner to Dr Berkeley, 8th Dec., 1783.
† Letter—Bishop Petrie to Bishop Kilgour, 26th Nov., 1783.
‡ Letter—Bishop Falconar to Bishop Kilgour, 29th Nov., 1783.
§ Letter—Bishop Rose to Bishop Kilgour, 1st Dec., 1783.

undertake a journey to Edinburgh, and it would also be too hard on Bishop Petrie in his very infirm state, the only proper place that remains for us to meet in is Aberdeen. How soon Dr Seabury fixes on the time for his setting out, or at least how soon he comes into Scotland, I hope he will address me; as the Bishops will settle their time of meeting for his consecration as soon thereafter as their circumstances and distance will permit." * This letter brought Dr Seabury into touch with Bishop Kilgour; and his reply, dated from London on 14th October, was sent as requested direct to the Primus. "Right Reverend Sir,—Three days ago I was made happy by the receipt of a letter from my friend in Edinburgh, enclosing one from you to the Rev. Mr John Allan, signifying the consent of the Bishops in Scotland to convey through me the blessings of a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western world. My most hearty thanks are due to you, and to the other bishops, for the kind and Christian attention which they shew to the destitute and suffering Church in North America in general and for that ready and willing mind which they have manifested in this important affair. May God accept and reward their piety, and grant that this whole business may terminate in the glory of His name, and the prosperity of His Church! As far as I am concerned or my influence shall extend, nothing shall be omitted to establish the most liberal intercourse and union between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and in Connecticut. . . . I purpose through the favour of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10th of November, and shall there wait the conveniency of the Bishops who have so humanely taken this matter under their management." †

(5) An Unexpected Hitch.

All obstacles seemed now to be removed. It only needed the sequence of events to consummate Dr Seabury's consecration. On Friday, 5th November, he arrived at Aberdeen, and became the guest of Bishop Skinner. His arrival was intimated to the other Bishops, and they arranged to meet in Aberdeen on the Friday following. A hitch at the last moment almost threatened to mar the proceedings. On the same evening as Dr Seabury arrived in Aberdeen, a messenger brought a letter‡ to Bishop Kilgour's house at Inverugie from an old

* Letter—Bishop Kilgour to Rev. John Allan, 2nd Oct., 1784.
† Letter—Dr Seabury to Bishop Kilgour, 14th Oct., 1784.
‡ Letter—from "American Churchman" (name withheld) to Bishop Kilgour, and communicated to him by Wm. Seller, London, 28th Oct., 1784. Embodied in Letter by Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Skinner, 6th Nov., 1784.

school companion then resident in London, warning him that if he proceeded with his design, he would give serious offence to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and hinting that Seabury was a sectary "actively and deeply engaged against Congress." "My bosom friend, your cousin Dr Smith," the letter added, "is deeply interested in this affair, and I expect him here after the Autumn meeting of the American clergy, with recommendations from the States of America to be consecrated a Bishop, but all his designs will be frustrated in case your Bishops consecrate Seabury, a man of strong passions and resentments, and Dr Smith's avowed enemy." Kilgour was naturally perturbed. He had no means either of proving or disproving the accuracy of the information given him; and in sore trouble of mind he forwarded the letter to Bishop Skinner asking him to ascertain from Dr Seabury "what recommendations he has from America, how matters stand between him and the Archbishops, and what else appears to you necessary from the enclosed information." Two things were fortunate. Kilgour at once suspected that the bomb thrown by his school companion had been manufactured by Dr Wm. Smith; and he knew Smith to be, as he stated in his covering note to Bishop Skinner, "a very ambitious designing man." Smith was really an able Scotsman who had emigrated to America in the middle of the century and founded there the College of Pennsylvania. At the moment he was President of Washington College, Maryland, and a keen churchman. To his own loss he was too keen, for his very anxiety to be made a bishop, and "the somewhat unscrupulous steps which he took to secure his promotion" defeated their own object. It is only fair to state, however, that after Seabury's consecration, he proved a firm ally, and "bore a leading and honourable part in the proceedings necessary for the organisation of the American Church."* The other fortunate circumstance was that Dr Seabury had arrived in Aberdeen before Bishop Skinner received the letter of the Primus, and he was able to sound him regarding the attitudes which had been

* Article by Dean Wilson—Scottish Church Review, p. 115. Dr Wm. Smith did much for young America and was the half brother of the Hon. Thomas Smith (cf. *Infra*, p. 83). His achievements are briefly summarised on p. 83, and further reference to him will be found on pp. 84, 85, and 112. Dean Wilson pays handsome tribute to his subsequent services to the Episcopal Church in America:—"He was president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at the Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1789, when the Scottish form for the consecration of the elements in the Holy Communion was adopted as the American 'use.' This mark of the historical connexion between the Scottish and American Churches would not have been easily introduced into the American Book of Common Prayer, had it not been for the strong support which Dr Smith gave Bishop Seabury on that occasion." Cf. *Infra* (footnote) p. 73.

taken up both by the Archbishops and by Dr Smith. He learned that in the case of the Archbishops, expediency dictated aloofness; in the case of Dr Smith, personal hopes and ambitions rendered him hostile. Nor was Skinner disposed to question either of these judgments. "If there be any truth and candour in man," he wrote to Bishop Kilgour, I honestly declare I think it is in Dr Seabury. Our last night's conversation naturally led us to speak of his credentials, which he readily produced, and I perused with the most heartfelt satisfaction, to see a man so much admired, esteemed, and loved by his brethren. Would to God we had a few such men among ourselves, and such unanimity, such cordiality, in our elections. In the name of our blessed Master therefore, let us go on cheerfully with the good work recommended to us." *

(6) The Consecration.

Every scruple was thus removed; and when the Bishops met in Aberdeen on Friday, 12th November, they decided to proceed with the consecration on Sunday, the 14th. There were now only four left. Bishop Falconer had died during the summer. On Sunday, 13th June, he was taken suddenly ill "of the palsy," and died on the following Tuesday. At the last moment Bishop Rose discovered "difficulties"—"expressions in the concordate and letter to Connecticut" † and refused to concur. But happily the necessary three were present—the Primus, Bishop Skinner, and the aged Bishop Petrie. From the beginning of the negotiations the last-mentioned had shown the utmost heartiness. "God grant us a happy meeting," was his prayer, when he heard that the date was fixed, "and bless and prosper the important work we are to be about, to the setting forth of his Glory, and the edification and enlargement of Christ's Church." ‡ The eventful service was held, as arranged, on Sunday, 14th November, in the upper room of Bishop Skinner's house in the Longacre, which commonly served as his chapel. Bishop Kilgour presided, and Bishop Skinner preached. By a "happy choice," as Dean Wilson expresses it, § the Service concluded with the singing of the last four verses of Psalm xc. (Tate and Brady's version)—

* Letter—Bishop Skinner to Bishop Kilgour, 8th Nov., 1784.
† Letter—Bishop Petrie to Rev. A. Jolly, 23rd Oct., 1784.
‡ Bishop Petrie to Rev. A. Jolly, 30th October, 1784.
§ Scottish Church Review, 1884. p. 118.

To satisfy and cheer our souls,
Thy early mercy send;
That we may all our days to come
In joy and comfort spend.

Let happy times, with large amends,
Dry up our former tears,
Or equal, at the last, the term
Of our afflicted years.

To all thy servants, Lord, let this
Thy wondrous work be shown;
And to our offspring yet unborn,
Thy glorious power be known.

Let thy bright rays upon us shine,
Give thou our work success;
The glorious work we have in hand
Do Thou vouchsafe to bless.

There could be no public advertisement of the service, for the civil powers still looked askance on Scottish Episcopacy; but the historian assures us that there was "a large gathering of both clergy and laity." * Among the former was a youthful presbyter who had obtained the consent of the Primus to "desert his charge for the occasion," and who witnessed the proceedings with entranced interest. This was the Rev. A. Jolly of Turriff, destined himself to become later Bishop of Moray. Writing to Bishop Petrie after the event on 1st December, 1784, he told him that the memory of it was still a distraction to work. "I am scarcely recovered," he wrote, "from the pleasing dream-like joy which the late extraordinary occasion has cast me into." And he was not alone in his rejoicing.

(7) Posterity's Vindication.

The event, when it came to be known, evoked much comment, and the bishops who took part in it were both praised and blamed for their action. Bishop Skinner was fiercely assailed in the pages of

* Dean Walker—"Life and Times of John Skinner," p. 39. For account of service see also Walker's "Skinner of Linshart." and Skinner's "Ecclesiastical History," and "Annals of Episcopacy."

"The Gentlemen's Magazine" for certain statements in his sermon, which were considered to reflect upon the Episcopal Church of England. Criticism was directed against a note to the sermon rather than against the sermon itself. In this note Bishop Skinner made a cutting reference to those eminent ecclesiastics in England who paid "more attention to Acts of Parliament than to the Acts of the Apostles." "Though the sarcasm was sharp," writes Dean Wilson, "it was not more so than the circumstances warranted. The English Bishops *were* hampered by the connection of their Church with the State, and if any one could have been justified in passing a severe reflection upon their inaction in matters where the Church's duty was clear and pressing, it was a Scottish Bishop of the latter half of the last century." But on the other hand, testimony was not wanting to show that all moderate opinion inclined to think that the bishops had acted with firmness, and wisdom, and in accordance with loyalty to their own principles. From more than one source Bishop Kilgour received congratulations. Even a writer south of the Border, who signed himself "A Dignified Clergyman of the Church of England" (commonly supposed to be Bishop Lowth), assured him that his action "gave satisfaction" there. Certainly, when in 1884, the centenary of the Seabury consecration was celebrated at Aberdeen, there was no mistake how Episcopacy all over the world had come to regard the event. Churchmen gathered from all parts to do honour to the memory of the men who had taken part in it; and no less than 17 bishops—6 Scotch, 5 American, 2 English, 2 Irish, and 2 representing the colonies—joined in the celebrations. Fraternal gifts and greetings between the Scottish and American Episcopal Churches were exchanged, and the meetings were characterised by the utmost enthusiasm.* It may be added that Dr Seabury's consecration has helped to give America, including missionary and foreign jurisdictions, over one hundred bishops. The American Episcopal Church also owes to the event, through Seabury's loyalty to his consecrators, her Communion Office. The late Bishop of Connecticut declared that the Scottish Church in giving America the primitive form of consecration, 'gave us a greater boon than when she gave us the Episcopate.'†

* For a fuller account of the Seabury Centenary celebrations see Appendix E.

† It was partly due to the action of Dr W. Smith, who read the Scottish Communion Office to the Lower House in 1789, that it was approved without dispute. Cf. footnote *Supra*, p. 70.

Last Years.

Increasing years, however, now began to tell on the vigour of Bishop Kilgour; and two years after Dr Seabury's consecration, in October, 1786, he resigned his bishopric into the hands of his coadjutor and successor, Bishop Skinner. He retained merely the oversight of Peterhead, his own *portio gregis*. In 1788, grown "frail and feeble," he also demitted the office of Primus. The Church had by that time set herself the task of petitioning for a repeal of the penal statutes against Episcopacy, and he felt that a stronger hand than his own was needed at the helm. Bishop Skinner was chosen as his successor in this office also. In less than two years afterwards Kilgour died. The end came on 23rd March, 1790, "in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-second of his ministry." The notice of his death in "The Scots' Magazine" speaks of him as being "the oldest bishop in the Scottish Episcopal Church." * He was buried in the old churchyard of Peterhead, close to the south wall of the chancel of S. Peter's Kirk; and a plain stone, set within a heavy granite moulding and built into the wall, marks the place of his interment. It bears the following inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of The Rt. Revd. Mr Robert Kilgour, Late Bishop of the Diocese of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Scots Episcopal Church. This Stone is erected by his Spouse, Mrs Margaret Arbuthnot. Ob. xxiii. Martii, 1790. Aetat. lxxvi. Minist. lii.

Dum colitur Pietas et Amor divinus honesti,
Dum tenet antiquam Scotica terra fidem,
Talem sacra cohors gaudebit dicere Patrem,
Laudabit talem (v)era† propago virum."

These lines, bespeaking the sorrowing regard with which the bishop had been laid to rest, may be translated as follows:—

While virtue still is honoured and noble thought esteemed,
While the ancient faith of Scotland dear to her sons is deemed,
The Church's loyal servants as a "Father" will thee claim,
And the faithful of posterity shall bless and praise thy name.

At the foot of the stone his wife's death is also recorded:—"Mrs Margaret Arbuthnot, died the 22nd February, 1805, aged 81 years."

* Scots Magazine, 1790, p. 205.
† "Fera" on the tombstone—evidently a mistake of the sculptor.

She was a daughter of Thomas Arbuthnot, Baron Bailie of Peterhead in 1715, and an ardent Jacobite. By her Kilgour had several children; and it is interesting to add that one of their daughters, Christian, became the wife in 1787 of Bishop Patrick Torry, Kilgour's successor in Peterhead, and "one of the grand old men of Scottish Episcopacy."†

His Claim to Remembrance.

Kilgour's claim to the remembrance of posterity must rest on the part which he played in ordaining Bishop Seabury. He was certainly a faithful pastor and a true Bishop, and had fate dealt kindly by him he might have exercised a much wider influence both on the ecclesiastical and civil life of Scotland, but his path was hopelessly circumscribed. The defeat of the rebellion of "The 'Fifteen" crippled fatally the power of the Church which he had elected to serve, and the tragic persecutions which followed "The 'Forty-five" sadly divided its counsels and scattered its congregations. The real marvel is that the Episcopal Church weathered the storm, and that men like Kilgour were found who could be turned aside neither by betrayed hopes nor the desertion of friends. Many indeed failed. "In some parts of Scotland," writes Mr Wilkinson, referring to the period of persecution, "the Church practically ceased to exist—literally crushed out of existence; and it says something, not only for the patience and loyalty of the people, but also for the personality, influence, and resourcefulness of Kilgour, that under such depressing conditions he held his homeless flock together for twenty long and trying years." But the Seabury consecration is the one bright spot in his career, the one triumph without alloy. To be impressed we need not be ardent believers in "orders"—the results of that action bulk sufficiently large both in the history of America and in the fortunes of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. We must ask, Was a deed done which helped forward the work of Christ's Kingdom? and only a bigot would refuse to answer that question in the affirmative. From the consecration of Bishop Seabury sprang the Protestant Episcopal Church of America —a Church which has had in its ministry men of world-wide scholarship and fame, and which now numbers in its members and adherents between four and five million souls. Surely that fact alone should make us thank God for Bishop Robert Kilgour. Indeed in my Cruden

† Article on the Chappell of St Peter. See also note p. 63 *Supra.*

days I often found myself looking out upon the spot where the home of Bishop Kilgour stood and marvelling with gratitude at the ways of Providence. Born in a lowly cottage—educated with difficulty by a proscribed schoolmaster—maintained at College by the careful thrift of pious parents—and to the end of his career, even when Bishop and Primus, supported merely by the frugal offerings of a dispossessed and harassed congregation—these were the outward features of his life; yet he gave America the link deemed necessary for the continued existence of its Episcopal Church. We need the inward view to correct the outward. In that lowly home he found an ideal and a hero. No name was held more in reverence there than Mr Dunbar's, and the thought of his endurance for conscience sake gave Kilgour his first impressions of duty. In that parish school he learned not only his letters, but the bigger lessons of life. His schoolmaster, like his minister, was a man of rare and deep piety, and he taught Kilgour to set aside all thoughts of personal ambition, and to "seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." That College education also was a precious discipline. He knew what it was costing his parents, and the thought of the sacrifice which they were making for his sake, and of the love and affection that surrounded him, drew out an answering call from his very heart. As for that poverty of later years—it was his greatest glory. Like Paul, he learned the precious lesson—in whatsoever state he was, therewith to be content. It was enough that God's cause should prosper, and that he should be the humble instrument. In a word, his faith in God sustained him—that faith which makes the humblest of us "unto our God kings and priests." His indeed was the true apostolic succession—the succession which enabled the fishermen disciples of our Lord to be His missionaries to the whole world—the succession of Divine truth and goodness. "For ye see your calling, brethren: how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." The Protestant Episcopal Church of America has no prouder boast than that it had so meet an "apostle."

APPENDIX.

A.—Bishop Kilgour's Letters of Orders (Priest's).

In Dei Nomine Amen.

Tenore praesentium omnibus Catholicis pateat, quod Anno Domini Millesimo septingentesimo Trigesimo octavo, in Festo Sancti Marci. Nos Will: Dunbar miseratione Divinâ Episcopus Aberdonen (Dei Praesidio Freti) sacros Ordines in Oratorio apud Peterhead celebrantes, Dilectum nobis in Christo Fratrem Robertum Kilgour A:M: Diaconum, ac Nobis de Vitae ejus Integritate Morum Probitate, Eruditione, et Orthodoxia sufficienter commendatum in Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem promovimus et secudum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiae Scoticanae Ordinavimus. In cujus Rei Testimonium, Instrumento huic (Chirographo nostro prius munito) Sigillum nostrum Episcopale apponi mandavimus. Datum apud Peterhead A E C: MDCCXLI et Consecrationis nostrae Decimo quarto, Die vero mensis Februarii Decimo quarto.

Will Dunbar Ep.

The above document is No. 1305 among those retained in the safe of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the Theological College, Edinburgh. The words "In Dei Nomine Amen" "Tenore" "Nos" though not in capitals are much larger than the rest of the writing—nearly half an inch tall. There seems to be either a few letters or a little mark after "Ep." A beautiful specimen of the Bishop's seal in a tin box is attached.

B.—Bishop Kilgour's Deed of Consecration.

In Dei Nomine Amen .

Omnibus ubique Catholicis, per Praesentes Pateat Nos Gulielmum Falconar Miseratione Divina Episcopum Moravien. Jacobum Rait Episcopum Brechinen. et Joannem Alexander quondam Episcopum Dunkelden. jamdudum mortuum, Mysteria sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio apud Cupar de Fife celebrantes, Divini Numinis Praesidio fretos, (praesentibus tam e Clero quam e Populo Testibus idoneis) Robertum Kilgour Artium Magistrum, et sacro Presbyteratus Ordine jam condecoratum, ac Nobis pro Vitae, Integritate, Morum Probitate et Orthodoxia commendatum, et ad Docendum & Regendum aptum et indoneum, ad sacrum & sublimem Episcopatus Ordinem promovisse, et rite ac canonice secundum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiae Scoticanae consecrasse, Festo Sancti Matthei Anno aerae Christianae millesimo septingintesimo sexagesimo octavo. In cujus rei Testimonium. Instrumento huic (Chirographis nostris prius munito) Sigilla nostra apponi mandavimus.

Guliemus Falconar Episcopus Moravien & Primus.

Jacobus Raitt Episcopus Brechin

The above document is No. 99 among those retained in the safe of the Episcopal Church in the Theological College, Edinburgh. It will be noted that Falconar has left out the second "l" in his signature of Gulielmus, and that in the deed Raitt's name has only one "t." "In Dei Nomine Amen," "Nos," "Robertum Kilgour," and "Episcopatus "Ordinem" are in a much larger caligraphy than the rest. "Quondam" is not inserted as in text, but is interlined. The seals of the two signing bishops are appended, and a space is left for the third signature.

C.—Certificate of Consecration granted by the Scottish Bishops to Bishop Kilgour.

At Cupar, Fyfe, September 21st, 1768.

These are to certify to all whom it does concern, that we the Subscribing Bishops of the Church of Scotland; did meet here, and upon the feast of the Holy Apostle St. Matthew did duly and canonically ordain and consecrate the now Right Reverend Mr Robert Kilgour at Peterhead to be Bishop of the Diocese of Abdn. in consequence of a deed of Election of the Presbyters of said Diocese, transmitted to us by the Dean of Aberdeen, pursuant to our mandate and order for Electing a Bishop of Aberdeen vacant by the Demise of the Late Right Reverend Mr And. Gerard, and in testimony thereof have signed these presents Day and date above mentioned.

Will Falconar, E. & Prs.
James Raitt, Bp.
John Alexander, Bp.

This document is No. 98 in the safe of the Episcopal Church. It is signed by the three bishops, but bears no seals.

D.—Letter of Scottish Bishops to the Presbyters of Aberdeen enjoining Canonical Obedience to Bishop Kilgour.

To the Revd the Presbyters of the Diocese of Aberdeen.

We the Subscribing Bishops of the Church of Scotland, Do hereby signify to you, that in Consequence of a Deed of Election by you pursuand to a Mandate to that End of Date Aug. 16th presented to us by our Right Revd Primus, & transmitted by your Very Revd Dean Mr William Smith in Aberdeen We did meet here at Coupar in Fife upon this the Festival of the Aple. S. Matthew & did then & there duly & canonically Consecrate the Now Rt Revd Mr Robert Kilgour to be your lawful Bishop, & we desire you to receive him & pay him all Canonical Obedience as such & We earnestly pray God to crown with his blessing his pious labours & make him the happy Instrument of stablishing peace and good order among you. We recommend you & your several Charges to the Divine Favour & Benediction & are R.D.B.

Your aff Bren and humble servts
Thus subscribed
Will Falconar Primus.
James Raitt Bp.
John Alexander Bp.

This document, evidently a copy, is pinned to No. 98 of the documents in the Episcopal safe.

E.—Centenary of the Seabury Consecration.

In his "*History of the Scottish Church*" the Rev. W. Stephen who speaks of the Seabury Consecration as "perhaps the brightest incident in the chequered history of the Scottish Episcopal Church" gives a very full and interesting account of the centenary celebrations which took place at Aberdeen in October, 1884. He writes:—

"The presence of Dr Williams, the latest successor of Dr Seabury in the see of Connecticut, added a special interest to the occasion. From the American Bishops he brought an address to the Scottish bishops, and from the Convention of his own diocese he presented a massive silver paten and chalice to the Bishop of Aberdeen, 'as representing the Scottish Church.' The Aberdeen Churchmen responded by the gift of a pastoral staff to the bishop of Connecticut and his successors in office. There was much enthusiasm at the different meetings, and it reached a climax when Dr Whipple, the venerable bishop of Minnesota, affectionately known in his own country as the 'Apostle of the Indians,' declared that the Episcopal Church, in the old country and in the new, had the promise of the future as the Church of the Reconciliation, destined in God's good Providence to unite a dismembered Christendom on the basis of, 'Evangelical Truth, Apostolic Order'. The effect of the commemoration was to confirm the 'Beloved Concordat' between the Scottish Episcopal Church and her prosperous offspring in the United States. 'The Seabury consecration,' said one of the American Clergy, 'will always be the poetic incident in American Church History.' Upon the actual anniversary, the 14th November, commemorative services were held both in this country and in America; not the least memorable being the service in St Paul's Cathedral, London, where a congregation of three thousand people assembled. The archbishop of Canterbury preached the sermon and told how the feeble remnant, the Church once 'of Scotland' quietly faced the crisis of the Church of the future—how humbly and peacefully, with a knowledge of what they were doing, they laid their hands on the chosen man in an upper chamber, and imparted to the new world the gift of a 'free, valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy'." (pp. 675-6).

F.—Sources of Information regarding Bishop Kilgour.

The materials for the foregoing sketch are very diverse. Some of them are still in manuscript, such as the Registers of the Parish of Cruden and the documents preserved in the safe of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the Theological College, Edinburgh. Others are to be found in magazines—e.g. the *Scottish Church* Review of 1884 contains an interesting article on the Seabury Consecration by the Very Rev. Dean Skinner Wilson, and also gives the text of most of the letters which passed between Seabury and the Scottish Bishops. Serviceable books are *Some Chapters of Church History in Buchan* by the Rev. Canon Wilkinson (P. Scrogie, Ltd., Peterhead, 1914); *Buchan* by the Rev. Dr Pratt (Messrs Smith & Son, Aberdeen, 1870, 3rd Edition); *Life and Times of John Skinner* by the Very Rev. Dean Walker; and the two histories—*Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* by the Rev. John Skinner of Longside (London, 1788), and *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy* 1788-1816 by the Rev. John Skinner of Forfar. As explained in the preface, the sketch of Kilgour's life is really an expansion of the account already given in *Three Scots Bishops*.

The Hon. Thomas Smith.

"Clean, wise, sagacious, and of a constructive spirit, is the man who can take part in the vital movements of a stormy and transitional time, and come through it beloved by the best. And after all—are not these our really constructive forces? That it was these elements . . . which Judge Smith so passionately loved, there can scarcely be a doubt. . . . It is a great thing to be, in all relations of life, merely a just judge.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.
The Life and Times of Thomas Smith.

"He spent a useful, active life—no man more industrious, or more studious to acquire useful knowledge. . . As a Judge he was independent and correct. He was certainly a great public loss, for no man could have been more devoted to the public good, or served his country with more zeal and ability for upwards of twenty years."

MRS THOMAS SMITH.
Letter to Dr Peter Smith of Aldie, 6th July, 1809.

HONOURABLE THOMAS SMITH.

The Hon. Thomas Smith.

A Member of the Continental Congress of America, and a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Birth and Parentage.

Thomas Smith was born at Auchiries, Cruden, on 12th October, 1745.* His father, also named Thomas, had been twice married; and by his first wife he had two sons, William and Charles.† William, after studying at King's College, Aberdeen, went to America and founded the College of Pennsylvania. He attained just fame as its first Provost, and proved a pioneer in American education. Charles went to London and settled in business as a stationer there. To both these half-brothers, as we shall see, Thomas owed a great deal.

His father's second marriage took place in the end of October, 1744, and Thomas was thus his eldest son by his second wife. ‡ She must have been a woman of rare character, inspiring a deep affection

* The entry in the Register of Baptisms, &c., for Cruden (preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh) is as follows:—"Oct. 12th, 1745. Thomas Smith in Auchiries had a child baptized named Thomas. Witnesses—Alex. Boddie and Thomas Hay." The entry is placed between two entries in March and April, 1746. This date corresponds with the statement contained in a letter of 25th March, 1805, written by Dr Peter Smith of Aldie to Judge Smith—"Your mother says she was married in the end of October, 1744, and you were born in October, 1745" (*Life* p. 2 footnote). The place of his birth accords with a reference in one of his own letters to Dr Peter Smith of date, 17th June, 1793, in which he speaks of Aldie in Cruden (which the Dr had recently purchased) as "at the place of my nativity." Konkle's information that the registers of Cruden "prior to 1807 are lost" (*Life*, p. 4 footnote 2), only applies to the Episcopal Church registers.

† Thomas Smith, Senior, was born in 1692, a younger son of Dr James Smith of Turnalief (*Cruden and its Ministers*, p. 103). His first wife was Elizabeth Duncan, "sister of the hero of Camperdown," and their home for a time at least was in the Parish of Slains, where their eldest son William was born on 7th Dec., 1727, (see "Aberdeen Influence on American Universities," an article in the Aberdeen Universities Review, Nov., 1917, by P. J. Anderson). In the "Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.," by his great-grandson (Cf. p. 17), a full account is given of the family and the ancestry of the Smiths, but it is very inaccurate: e.g. the birthplace of William is given as "the banks of the River Don" instead of Slains; Charles is made out to be a half-brother of William, and a full brother of Thomas; and the date of Judge Smith's death is set down as "1811" instead of 1809. It is doubtful indeed if any part of the account can be relied on.

‡ According to the account of the family referred to in Note † his mother's name was Margaret Campbell. This is certainly wrong. Her Christian name was Elizabeth, but her maiden surname is uncertain. After her husband's death she appears to have married a second time. The first letter of Judge Smith known to be extant (of date 7th Sept., 1767) addresses her as "Mrs Elizabeth Lawrence."

in her children, for letters are still extant which show how much they honoured and loved her. * From both parents indeed Thomas inherited qualities which marked him out for distinction.

Early Years.

Little is known about his early years. By the time he was five, his half-brother William had graduated and gone to London, and by the time he was thirteen his father had died, and Charles had also left home. In the interval we know that a sister had been born, and, it is believed, other sons who died in infancy; so that life must now have become something of a struggle to his mother. † Konkle ventures the opinion that "Thomas no doubt had the advantages of the parish schools"; but his parents belonged to the Episcopal Church, and unless, in education as in religion, the strong arm of the law made conformity a matter of necessity, even this is doubtful. ‡

The first fact which we know for certain is that, in 1762, he left Scotland, and joined his brother Charles in the metropolis. Charles was very kind and helpful—"a father as well as a brother to me," he wrote to his mother. § Six years later, when he was twenty-two, he made the great—and as it proved, the decisive venture of his life—and followed his brother William to America. ¶

* The letters and messages sent by Thomas to his mother are couched in most affectionate terms. In 1774 he made provision for her under his will, and at various times remitted money presents to her. See *Life* pp. 264 and 272 (footnote).

† *Life* p. 6.

‡ If he was educated at the Parish School of Cruden, he would have been under the care of Mr Andrew Greig, the schoolmaster who faithfully served the parish for almost half a century (1749-1798). But it is just possible that he may have been educated at home and that the Episcopal minister had more to do in giving a bent to his mind than the Presbyterian dominie. Alexander Keith, who was appointed schoolmaster in 1715, was deposed for his adherence to Episcopacy in 1720. He afterwards became minister of the disestablished Episcopal Church; and seems to have taught as well as preached until his death in 1763. (*Cruden and its Ministers* p. 74, 115-118).

§ *Life* p. 7. (Letter to his mother, 7th Sept., 1767). During his five years' sojourn in London he seems to have continued his studies—he certainly learned French then (Ibid p. 9). For part of the period, 1762-4, his brother William was also in London, having come across in the interests of his infant college. Thomas however stayed with Charles. In a letter to his brother William dated 3rd December, 1784, he records his indebtedness to Charles at this time. "I ascribe much of the success I have had in the world (under providence) to those principles of Truth and Integrity early instilled into me by the example of . . . Charles while I lived with him in London—a better man than Charles never lived."

¶ His arrival in America has been put as early as 1764, but this is very improbable. It seems likely that he sailed about the end of 1767 and arrived early in 1768. Cf. reasons stated by Konkle.—*Life* p. 9.

America in 1768.

America had then her own peculiar problems.

There was the French menace. As a result of the seven years' war, the British had driven the French out of Canada and had compelled them to remove west of the Mississippi. Danger from that quarter was therefore in abeyance but not extinguished.

The Indians were also a source of trouble. As a result of colonial expansion, the British had been driven to buy up or invade Indian lands, and in isolated spots the colonists found themselves exposed to murderous attacks. Scalping parties occasionally descended within a few miles of the principal towns.

Then there was friction between the colonists themselves. Boundaries were often left undefined and led to grievous disputes—particularly in localities which were new, and between States differing in their political and religious complexions. Even after the union, the colonies were exceedingly jealous of each other and quarrelled bitterly over their rights.*

But when Thomas Smith set foot on American soil, the biggest difficulty was undoubtedly British administration. In 1765 the British Government resolved to tax the Americans for their share in the cost of the wars both against the French and the Indians; and accordingly passed the Stamp Act levying an internal tax on all legal documents. On every hand there was fierce opposition. Even so loyal a colonist as Dr Smith wrote the Dean of Gloucester, sounding a note of warning. "With regard to the Stamp Act," he said, or any Act of Parliament to take money out of our pockets otherwise than by our own representatives, . . . it will ever be looked upon as so contrary to the . . . inherent rights of Englishmen, that . . . although a superior force may, and perhaps can, execute this among us, yet it will be such an alienation of the affections of a loyal people . . . that the experiment can never be worth the risk." † Unfortunately that warning, like many another to the same effect, was unheeded.

A Land Surveyor.

Very different, however, were the concerns which first engrossed Thomas Smith. Through his brother's influence he was given work in helping to survey the new territories which had been acquired from

* Cf. dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the possession of Pittsburgh.
† Letter—Dr Smith to Dean of Gloucester, 18th December, 1769.

the Indians, and for four years at least he seems to have applied himself to his transit and chain. He assisted Surveyor General John Lukens in mapping out the new town plot of Huntingdon; for his name appears, with that of the Surveyor General and his assistant, Charles Lukens, on the Standing Stone which was set up in 1768 to mark the boundary. Having received his commission as a deputy surveyor on 10th February, 1769, he applied himself next to measuring a vast oblong tract of territory which was to form part of Cumberland County—a tract subsequently increased in area out of compliment to his diligence. In April of the following year a new consignment was made to him—this time in the Frankstown district. In 1771 he succeeded his friend, Arthur St. Clair, * as surveyor of "the western part of the county of Cumberland, and part of the county of Bedford." The measuring of the lands which were included in the specified portions of these counties occupied him for the next two years.

In a sketch of his career which appeared in the *United States Gazette* after his death, the writer, commenting on his work as a surveyor, states: "His fidelity in this important and interesting trust was so strongly marked, that no individual has been able to complain of injury; and exemption from law-suits, and certainty of titles to property have been almost the invariable result. So high was his sense of honour, so inflexible his principle of justice, that he would never suffer even suspicion to cast a shade over his official character. His private interests yielded to the firmness of his mind, for although landed property was then so easily to be acquired, he scrupulously avoided all speculation; determined that the desire to gain should neither warp his rectitude nor give birth to jealousy in others." † Fifteen years afterwards Judge Thomas Duncan said from the bench, "Fewer controversies have arisen on surveys made by that most excellent man and fine officer, Thomas Smith, than have occurred in the case of any other Deputy Surveyor." ‡

* Born at Thurso in 1734. He was one of a group of Scotsmen who helped to make the fortunes of the infant American nation. During the war he became a Brigadier General, and in 1790 was a candidate for the Governorship of Pennsylvania when Mifflin was appointed.

† *United States Gazette*, 11th May, 1809.

‡ *Life* p. 41. A full account of his work as a Surveyor is given in Chapter III.

Lawyer, Recorder, and Prothonotary.

Meantime he had made his home in Bedford, afterwards the capital of the county bearing that name; * and in order to employ his leisure to some profit, he set himself to study law. Through this means he emerged ultimately into a larger sphere of work and society. He did not cease to act as a surveyor before the end of 1774—probably he served even longer†: but as early as January, 1772, we find his name appearing as an attorney in a case which came before the court at Bedford in that year. At this time indeed he seems to have acted both as surveyor and lawyer, and to have combined in his person a number of other offices. He was Clerk of Sessions and Recorder of Deeds. On 27th February, 1773, when St. Clair was appointed Prothonotary of the new county of Northumberland, Smith succeeded him as Prothonotary at Bedford. On 3rd May of the following year he was also made a Justice of the Peace. ‡

These appointments brought him more prestige perhaps than pecuniary benefit (his salary as Prothonotary, for example, was only £50); but it says much for his industry and powers that in the short period of five years he should have been given positions of such influence and trust. His work, too, was continually expanding. On 25th January, 1774, he was admitted to practice as an attorney at York; and not long afterwards at the courts of Westmoreland, Washington, and Cumberland. In a short time indeed he became known as one of the ablest of the younger lawyers in the state of Pennsylvania.

Soldier and Statesman—Rapid Promotion.

The year of his admission at York witnessed an accentuation of the grievances against England and the opening of a new chapter in the struggle of America for liberty. Though Pitt had succeeded after much persuasion in obtaining the repeal of the Stamp Act, bitter and jealous feelings had been aroused; and very unwisely King George

* At first a trading post known as Ray's Town (after a Scotsman who founded it) it became a place of importance in the wars with the Indians and was fortified about 1757. It was then known as Fort Bedford.

† In December, 1774, he is known to have been serving under Mr Lukens.

‡ "A Justice of the Peace was a far more important officer in these days than at present, as in them was lodged almost the entire government of a county including its Bench of Justice. Consequently St Clair and Smith were each not only Prothonotary, Clerk of Courts, Register of Orphans' Court, Recorder of Deeds and Justice of the peace in the modern sense, but also Judge of Common Pleas and County Commissioners." *Life* p. 56.

III. insisted on replacing it by a new law, levying an import duty on tea at American Ports. The consequence was that riots occurred at Boston, and a mob disguised as Indians boarded the vessels with the obnoxious tea and emptied it into the harbour. This took place in December, 1773; and when in the beginning of the following year the King sought to punish Boston by closing its port against all commerce, the States laid aside their outward differences and determined on concerted action in defence of their liberties. On May 18th, the following sentences appeared in the "Pennsylvania Gazette":— "Liberty, property and life are now but names in America . . . We dare not call even our lives our own . . . New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town cannot expect to escape the fate of Boston."* The position was ominous to the last degree.

We can imagine the excitement with which the news of the riots at Boston were greeted in Bedford, and the divided feelings that prevailed in the minds of colonists like Thomas Smith. He does not seem to have hesitated, however, as to his duty, but at once to have cast in his lot with the land of his adoption. His attitude may be inferred from the following passage in a letter to his friend St. Clair: "The situation of this country as well as that of blind Britain must give anxiety to every person who is not callous to the feelings of humanity. The British seem to have been in the same situation for some time past with regard to their intellects as the builders of Babel were in respect of theirs. God knows how the destructive dispute will end. I think the ruin of Britain is inevitable, and her existence as a powerful Kingdom is near at an end. We will undoubtedly feel sorely the effects of the dispute; but I cannot help being of opinion that, according to the course of human affairs, we must, in the end, prevail." On 9th May, 1775, he allowed his name to be put forward as one of a Committee of Correspondence representing Bedford County. In the following Spring, along with Mr Woods, the Chairman of the Committee, he appealed to the Pennsylvania Assembly for a grant of money to enable the county to raise a force of militia.

Events rapidly followed which made him something of a figure during the rebellion, and brought him into intimate touch with the future fortunes of America. On April 19th, 1776, he received a commission as Colonel of the Second Battalion of the Bedford County Associators—the newly raised force of militia. On May 20th, he was elected to represent Bedford County in the Pennsylvania Assembly.

* *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18th May, 1774.

On June 5th he was placed on a Committee of that Assembly charged with the duty of drafting instructions to the delegates in Congress, and these instructions were characterised by one notable feature, viz., that "previous restrictions about voting for independence were removed." On July 4th (now regarded as the most famous date in American history) he witnessed the endorsing of this attitude by Congress. The Declaration of Liberty of all the Colonies was that day signed; yet at the time its significance seemed trivial—it was "an act which was in one sense scarcely more than the expression of what had already occurred in the minds of most of the people." On 15th July he was elected a delegate to the Convention appointed by the state to draft a Constitution consistent with its new-found liberties; and in that capacity took his seat for the first time in the old Supreme Court Room of Philadelphia — a room just across the Hall from where Congress was then sitting, and a room destined in days to come to have for himself many important hallowed associations.

When Smith was thus called to join in the task of framing the ship of state for the "free and independent commonwealth of the Province of Pennsylvania" he was only thirty-one. No doubt circumstances helped to bring him to the front. He owed to his brother William his first introduction to American Society—no mean asset. He arrived in America at a moment when great events were impending and when there was full scope for originality and power. In a young country, too, it is always possible to make headway more rapidly than in a country bound by political traditions and fettered by social distinctions. Nevertheless to have attained at so early an age and within so short a time, a place in the innermost councils of the chief colony, was a wonderful triumph. And, as we shall see, he went yet further.

The Constitutional Convention of 1776.

The main task which fell to the Constitutional Convention was to draw up "a frame or system of government for this state," * and it proved a task which brought Colonel Smith for the first time into sharp but enduring conflict with his political associates. When the convention met it was found that there were two parties within it—a popular party and a conservative. Neither term describes them adequately. The popular party claimed to represent the people and

* That is, for Pennsylvania. The states were not united till 1781, and each retained its separate constitution till 1789.

to be truly democratic, but it is to be feared that its members were keener on having a big following than on securing justice. "They would go to the devil for popularity," wrote Smith to St. Clair, "and in order to acquire it, they have embraced levelling principles, which you know is a fine method of succeeding." * The conservative party represented the "well-born." At least those who adhered to it were stigmatised as hangers-on of the conservative aristocracy by their opponents; but in truth there was little conservatism among them. They were simply men who were out for reform rather than revolution, and who wished adequate safeguards against hasty and immature legislation. To this party Smith belonged.

When the question came up: What form is the new constitution to take? it was found that the popular party were solid for a "one branch legislature," *i.e.*, government by single chamber. They were led by George Bryan, an Irish Presbyterian of real merit, and an idealist both in politics and religion. † Strange to say Bryan was not a member of the constitutional Convention, but was in close correspondence with its members. On August 2nd, when the vote was taken, the popular party carried the day. A small minority, including Col. Thomas Smith, dissented. The struggle was not ended however. A wordy warfare in the press followed; and only the action of the Elections' Committee who insisted that each elector should take an oath not to "do any act or thing directly or indirectly prejudicial or injurious to the Constitution" saved the work of the Convention. The election (fought on the question of the constitution) took place in November, and the new Assembly was thoroughly democratic in cast. When it met early in 1777, Mr Bryan was elected Vice-President. "With this event the government of Pennsylvania under the new constitution was an accomplished fact." ‡

Under a Cloud.

There can be little question that Colonel Smith's opposition to the Constitution seriously injured his own prospects. Political parties are proverbially tenacious of power; and he was not only unforgiven, but was also exposed to petty and malicious persecution.

* Letter to St. Clair, 3rd August, 1776.

† He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and had been a member of Congress in 1765. In 1779 he became President of the Assebmly, and in 1780 was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

‡ *Life* p. 87.

One of the first acts of the Assembly was to approve a petition from Attorney Robert Galbraith asking that he be appointed Recorder of Deeds of the County of Bedford in Smith's stead. The Supreme Executive Council also appointed Galbraith his successor in the office of Prothonotary. The Bedford commissioners were in fierce opposition, and advised Smith to retain the custody of the records. No business was done indeed in the office of the Recorder for over a year. On 17th November the Executive Council issued an order for his arrest. "That the said Thomas Smith, Esqr.," ran the warrant, "be arrested and confined in the gaol of the said County of Bedford, having neglected to comply with the demand for the records." It was 6th February, 1778, however, before Mr Galbraith was able to report his success; and that it was an ill-advised success, may be judged by the fact that three months later the Sub-Lieutenant of the County resigned his post, stating frankly as his reason that the "conditions in Bedford made his efforts useless." "I cannot but suggest," he wrote, "that our Board has been too weak to have influence among the people in the peculiar circumstances of the county—this may be owing to the appointment of some persons to it who were utterly unacquainted with public business, little known in the county, and not of sufficient public reputation and influence to stand against that resentment of the people raised even by the due exercise of their office." And though he never mentions Smith by name, he goes on to plead with the Executive Council not to commit the folly of construing as enemies able men who differ from them in political persuasion. "I am prone to think," he states, "that one occasion of this unrest may have arisen from hence—the gentlemen in or near Bedford, who are confessedly best acquainted with public business and capable of managing the affairs of the county, have on account of their former opposition to the Constitution of the State, and perhaps on account of some wrong representations concerning them, been kept out of places of trust, even when our situation required all the assistance they could give." * Smith, however, had his mind and hands too fully occupied to regret the loss of these offices. He had been appointed Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General of the troops at Bedford, and seems to have remained in the Quartermaster service

* Letter—Lieut. Hugh Davidson to the Council dated 15th May, 1778. Cf. Pennsylvania Archives Vol. vi., p. 504. "It is interesting to note that this same day the Congress released John Penn and Benjamin Chew from parole, and allowed them to return to Pennsylvania; also that Dr John Conolly was in prison at this time." *Life* p. 98, Footnote.

until the close of the war. He also took at this time an active part in the work of the Assembly. He was especially instrumental in helping to curb the Indian aggressions and in settling difficulties which had arisen regarding the Western frontier. A quarrel with Virginia as to the destination of Pittsburgh alone gave him endless trouble. *

The War of Independence.

But the war with England now overshadowed every domestic question, and gave the colonists many anxious days and hours. At the very moment when Galbraith was clamouring for the records of Bedford the colonies were in real danger. A British army, assembled in Canada under General Burgoyne, had been sent by way of the Lakes to seize the line of the Hudson and thus to cut off New England from the other states. Another army under General Howe was asked to sail up the Chesapeake and to threaten the capital. The Americans, under Washington, who covered Philadelphia, were only 7000 strong; and having been defeated by Howe at the Battle of Brandywine, they were compelled to retreat. The enemy rapidly closed in on the city, and captured it in the autumn of 1777. The Assembly removed to Lancaster, and for some months was in exile—conducting business as it best could through existing legislative agencies in the provincial capitals. The victory of the British, however, proved short-lived. Burgoyne found the line of the Hudson barred by an American force under General Gates; and on 17th October he was surrounded, and driven to capitulate on the heights of Saratoga. Washington, too, was never greater than in the hour of defeat which followed the battle of Brandywine. Throughout the winter he camped at Valley Forge, and "nerved his handful of beaten and half-starved troops to face Howe's army." Advancing in the Spring he forced the British to evacuate Philadelphia. It was reoccupied by the colonists on 18th June, 1778, and on 2nd July the Assembly again met in the State House. That same year the Americans materially strengthened their position by entering into an alliance with France and Spain. All that is now matter of history.

During these years the life of Thomas Smith may be summed up as that of a busy public man. He was given much vexatious work, had endless Committee meetings, and received little thanks. He still clung to his legal practice, and also retained his commission as an officer in the army: † but his real work was at Philadelphia. For

* See Appendix A.

† He acted by deputy when unable to do things himself.—*Life*, p. 114.

two more years he served as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly: for other two he was a member of the Continental Congress. It was a fateful period in the history of America, and in his own way Smith did much to guide the country towards the adoption of wise and sound measures. "Some men there are," writes Konkle, "so strong in moral character and so broadly and soundly appreciative in every situation in life, that, while they may not be men of initiative themselves, they are a tower of strength to leaders who are." * Such a man was Thomas Smith, and such was the nature of his contribution to America's greatness.

Member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1778-79.

As a member of the Assembly he was placed on Committees which dealt with such important matters as the excessive use of grain by distilleries, the internal administration of Westmoreland County, the instructions to be given to delegates in Congress, the sale of forfeited estates, the penalties to be imposed for neglect of public duty, the question of the boundary of Virginia, the defence of the frontier, etc., etc.; † in short, all such questions as came within the purview of a state executive. Of not a few committees he acted as Chairman. Sometimes he voted with the minority; but he was a good "constructionist" and never opposed a measure once a majority had approved it. One bit of work brought him great credit, and was a deep satisfaction to himself. In March, 1779, he received a letter from St. Clair (now a Brigadier General with the army in the field) telling him there was danger of a revolt in the Pennsylvania line, because the army lacked supplies, and imploring him to get the Assembly to lay aside all political prejudices and to make needful provision for his men.‡ Smith immediately moved for relief, and secured a bill making generous provision. The "resolves" of the bill were later in the year put into statute form and were commended by Washington as a model for other states.§

* *Life*, p. 283.

† Other committees, on which he acted, had under consideration the following matters:—The creation of a High Court of Errors and Appeals, the depreciation in currency, the use of public funds, state supplies, monopolies, the incorporation of the Scotch Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, the regulation of ferriage, the securing of bread supplies for Massachusetts, the revision of the Assembly's minutes, the consideration of the census returns, the levying and collecting of taxes, the regulation of trade, the provisioning of the French fleet, the adjustment of salaries of public officials.

‡ St. Clair, too, was an anti-constitutionalist.

§ *Life*, p. 109.

The absorbing question in the Assembly, however, during these two years was, as formerly, the constitution. On 27th November, 1778, a committee appointed to consider the advisability of holding another convention reported favourably, and suggested that this body should consider *inter alia,* "Whether the legislative power should be vested as at present in a single branch, and if the convention approved a second branch, how the same and executive powers for the administration of government should be constructed." This action "cleared the political atmosphere in the Assembly somewhat"; but it raised once more the whole question of the constitution in the state, and petitions began to flow in, protesting against the calling of a new convention. On 27th February, 1779, the "real fight" came. A vote was taken that day as to whether the order for calling a new convention should be repealed or not, and resulted forty-seven to seven in favour of repeal. The minority were entirely from Philadelphia and Bedford, Thomas Smith among the number. Great excitement followed. Letters abusive of both sides appeared in the press, and a "Republican Party" headed by another Scotsman and a close friend of Smith's, the Hon. James Wilson, * was formed to oppose the fixity of the single chamber constitution. "We mean not," he wrote, "that the Constitution in all its parts is repugant to liberty; though, while some articles remain, we are convinced, upon the most impartial examination, that its general tendency and operation will be to join the qualities of the different extremes of bad government. It will produce general weakness, inactivity and confusion; inter-mixed with sudden and violent fits of despotism, injustice, and cruelty." † His attitude, however, was misunderstood. The Assembly had always been popular, and it was practically single chamber government. The people regarded Bryan as a prophet of freedom, and followed him without question. They were in an irritable and ugly mood, for the war had depreciated the currency and sent up the price of food. Wilson therfore became the object of their wrath; and in September, 1779, matters reached a climax. That month Wilson defended the attitude of Morris and other merchants who refused to join a committee to regulate the price of food, and the unthinking mob attacked his house in Third Street and injured several of his friends. Only

* Wilson was born at St. Andrews in 1743. He began practice as a lawyer at Carlisle; and, like Smith, was appointed a member of the Constitutional Convention. He was afterwards made first Professor of Law in the College of Philadelphia, and in 1791 was appointed a Justice of the National Supreme Court.

† *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24th March, 1779

the action of the president in calling out the city troops stayed the riot. Both parties, however, learned wisdom from the event. The constitutionalists saw that perils might readily lurk in democracy uncurbed, and the anti-constitutionalists recognised that it would be madness to press their views in the present temper of the people. For a full decade more, therefore, the state of Pennsylvania was still thirled to the single chamber Constitution. *

Member of the Continental Congress, 1780-82.

The last Assembly in which Colonel Smith sat held its final session on 10th October, 1779, and his election as a representative of Pennsylvania in Congress did not take place till the following year—to be precise, on 23rd November, 1780. In the interval he busied himself with his duties as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, and was particularly active in urging the government to take still further measures for the protection of the frontier. A proposal which he made to President Reed to grant bounties of land "to such as would engage during the war for the defence of the frontiers against the Indians" did not meet with the approval of the Assembly; but money bounties were given to four companies specially ordered and detailed for ranger service. † His appointment to Congress was doubtless a recognition of the services he had rendered, but it was made all the easier by the fact that his greatest opponent in the Assembly, viz., Vice-President Bryan, had been elected in the previous April a judge of the Supreme Court and had thus ceased to exercise a dominating influence in its councils.

It would be a mistake to suppose that his work in Congress was more important than his work in the Assembly. Congress certainly represented the nation—but it was a nation still in its infancy, and its institutions therefore lacked power. The thirteen states were jealous of each other, and were only held together by the common danger. The Assembly on the other hand though only representing one state had *real* power, being vested both with judicial functions and authority to levy taxation. During the war the weakness of Congress was especially apparent. It had no strong executive, and the custom which prevailed of delegating important matters for consideration to boards and committees dissipated the powers it

* *Life*, p. 120.
† See Appendix B.

possessed. More or less it was a deliberative body—loquacious rather than active. There were moments when it looked as if Washington's victories were to be thrown away for want of a strong government. "The fundamental defect," wrote Alexander Hamilton, "is a want of power in Congress."*

But it would be equally a mistake to decry Congress altogether. As events have proved, it was *the* strong government in embryo; and the very fact that such a body existed gave cohesion to the American colonies and made possible the immense developments which resulted from their federal union. The very instructions issued by the Pennsylvania Assembly to Smith and his fellow-delegates amply prove this. They were asked to do all in their power (1) "to retrieve the finances of the United States," (2) to consider the "proper use" of the "late crown lands," (3) "to watch over the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania as to the boundary between them," (4) to make appointments "with impartiality and without favour," (5) before voting for the removal of any officer to "maturely weigh his conduct in office," and (6) "to urge Congress to recommend to the several states in union such a system of imports as may, without injury to commerce, produce a certain and beneficial remedy." † The first two instructions and the last represented the constructive programme, and the financial part of it occupied the close attention of Congress during the two years in which Smith was a member. The war was really being conducted on a paper currency, and no light problem faced the delegates in trying to make good the country's obligations.

Smith did not take his seat till 3rd February, 1781, but that very day witnessed the passing of a resolution to levy a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports, and four days later Congress resolved that "a Department of Finance should be created with a superintendent who should have general supervision over all matters of congressional finance." Mr Morris, his fellow-delegate from Pennsylvania, was given the office of superintendent; and it was this step that led to the creation three months later of the Bank of North America. Strange to say, Smith voted against Morris when the resolution to found the bank came before Congress. His objection, however, seems to have been not against the founding of a national bank, but to the idea of banking business being made a monopoly of government, which was part of Morris's plan.

* F. S. Oliver's *Life of Hamilton* p. 91.
† *Journals of Assembly* Vol. i., p. 564. For full text of instructions see Appendix C.

As the debates of Congress were held in private, and the only authentic record of its proceedings are the Journals of the House, it is impossible to give details of the part which Smith played as a member. Our knowledge indeed is practically limited to the Committees on which he served, and the votes which he recorded. It must have been an interesting time, however, for momentous events were daily transpiring which acted and reacted on the destinies of the American nation, and incidentally of Congress itself. Certain dates stand out. On 12th February, 1781, the state of Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation, thus bringing the last state into the union, and on the 1st March following, celebrations in honour of the "happy event" were held in Philadelphia. It marked, as the *Gazette* put it, "a union, begun by necessity, cemented by oppression and common danger, and now finally consolidated into a perpetual confederacy of these new and rising states." * On 19th October, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown, and on the 28th of the following month, the victorious general visited the capital and in person received the congratulations and thanks of the members. The President expressed the hope that Washington might remain in Philadelphia for a time and give Congress the benefit of his counsel in the reorganisation of the army. There was nothing in his reply to suggest disappointment. "I feel very sensibly," he said, "the favourable declaration of Congress expressed by your Excellency. This fresh proof of their approbation cannot fail of making a deep impression upon me, and my study shall be to deserve a continuance of it. . . . I shall yield a ready obedience to the expectation of Congress, and give every assistance in my power to their Committee." † Yet another notable date for Congress during Smith's membership was 17th September, 1782. On that day delegates were elected to negotiate the terms of peace with Great Britain, and Colonel Smith voted with the majority in appointing as Commissioners, Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens. It was an end of the cruel and bitter strife which had vexed the colonies for seven long years.

Marriage.

Two months later Pennsylvania chose new representatives and Smith's duties as a member of Congress ceased. He was not sorry;

* *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7th March, 1781.
† *Life*, p. 145.

for on 29th November, 1781, he had married Miss Letitia Van Deren, and for her sake, as well as his own, he was anxious to apply himself with greater diligence to his work as a lawyer. His wife was a daughter of John Van Deren, who owned a well-known mill in the valley of the Wissahickon, and Smith had made her acquaintance a few years previously when visiting his brother William at the Falls of Schuylkill. Few unions have been happier. Writing to his mother three years after his marriage he told her that his ample reward for the time he spent in public office was the opportunity afforded by his sojourn in Philadelphia of meeting frequently his future wife. "To say that she is beautiful," he writes, "would be saying little, but the beauty of her mind is superior to that of her person. . . . O my mother, I want words to paint my happiness in the married state—I want thoughts to conceive my gratitude for it. . . . My happiness is as great as I can conceive that of any human being can be." * Six daughters were born to them, and three sons, but—a great grief at the time—the two eldest sons died in infancy. †

Extending Practice as a Lawyer.

In order that his wife might not be too far removed from her parents, Smith chose Carlisle, the capital of Cumberland County, as the place of his future home; and on retiring from Congress he con-

* Letter to his mother dated Carlisle, 3rd December, 1784. It is addressed "Mrs Elizabeth Lawrence, in Cruden, Aberdeenshire, to the care of Dr P. Smith at Slains Castle."

† His wife was born in October, 1759, and was thus twenty-two years old at the date of her marriage. Their children were:—Elizabeth, born 21st August, 1782, (married Dr George Jones of Savannah, Georgia); Maria, born 10th May, 1784; Williamina, born 10th November, 1787; Juliana, born 8th December, 1789; Letitia Van Deren, born 22nd April, 1792; Rebecca, born 6th December, 1793; William (named after his half-brother, the Provost), born 11th November, 1795, died 24th July, 1796; Thomas, born 20th May, 1797, died 15th August, 1797; and George Washington, born 4th August, 1800. The following note regarding the third son, who survived him, is given by Konkle: "He grew to manhood under the guardianship of Chief Justice Tilghman, graduated at Princeton in 1818, and after studying law under Horace Binney, was admitted to the bar in 1823. His scholarly tastes led him to travel and exploration in Europe and Asia. As a member of the vestry of Christ Church for thirty years, his benevolence and financial ability led him to give $5,000 to its hospital every year. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society from 1840 until his death, and was a founder, councillor and vice-president of the Pennsylvania Historical society. In 1824 he published "Facts and Arguments in Favor of Adopting Railroads in Preference to Canals;" in 1829, "Defense of the Pennsylvania System in Favor of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners," and other like essays; and in 1832 edited "Wood on Railroads." He never married. He died on 22nd April, 1876. His home was at 9 Clinton Street, Philadelphia." *Life*, pp. 262-3.

tinued to reside there and to carry on his work as a lawyer. * He was not cut off, however, from his former practice at Bedford. From the January term, 1772, when he began practising, up to and including the April term, 1782, he had no fewer than 198 cases before the court there; and though he was now non-resident, he still retained his clientele. In the year 1784 indeed he had 74 cases out of 192 which were tried by that court, or nearly forty per cent.—a record which he maintained in subsequent years. † As we have already seen, he was admitted to practice in the courts of York and Westmoreland in 1774. In 1775 he was also admitted at Washington, and in 1779 at Cumberland; so that his circuit was extensive, and he had few leisure moments. If anything his work was too arduous, for in addition to practising in the courts of Common Pleas, he attended the Nisi Prius courts, and had thus to follow the judges wherever they elected to sit. ‡ In two letters which he wrote to his cousin, Dr Peter Smith of Aldie, he reveals how much these years cost him, both in mental and physical exertion. On 11th August, 1795, he states, "I did not write less than 4000 letters during the last ten years I was at the Bar." On 16th September, 1804, he writes, "My professional duties were uncommonly laborious, having for 9 years rode upwards of 3000 miles per annum, over the most mountainous parts of the state, which being newly settled, bordering on the Indians, and having been almost depopulated by the Indian war, the accommodations were, of course, generally very bad."

Attorney for General Washington.

But there were compensations which he himself was the first to ackowledge. He had now a settled home. He had the pleasure of

* "It is not known where either his home or his office was located, although because masses of his old papers were found in the basement of 18 West High Street, a few doors west of the Court House, it is believed that was the site of his office, and possibly of his home also." Life, p. 167.

† In 1785, he had 62 cases out of 127; in 1786, 57 out of 140; in 1787, 72 out of 180; in 1788, 64 out of 148; in 1789, 43 out of 129; in 1790, 41 out of 144; for three terms of 1791, 24 out of 74.

‡ "The courts of Nisi Prius as they were called, were of English origin, and grew out of similar needs in Great Britain. A summons was always issued for the Westminster bench in civil cases of a certain character, among which may be mentioned ejectments, trespass, etc., with the provision *nisi prius*, or "unless before" tried, when Judges came to the local seat of justice. This provision . . gave not only name to these relief courts, but also to the character of practice which naturally grew up in them." *Life*, p. 165.

seeing his work and fortune steadily grow. * He had the joy of helping to mould the minds of those who enrolled themselves as pupils in his office—among them his own nephew Charles. † A peculiar satisfaction was also afforded him during these years in the foundation of the Dickinson College — an educational seminary of which he remained a trustee to the close of his life. ‡ And one day (22nd Sept., 1784) he had the honour of being personally interviewed by General Washington, and invited to act as his attorney in a suit which the General had raised in order to eject squatters who had settled on his estates at "Miller's Run" in Virginia.

This case occupied much of Smith's time and thoughts; for the squatters were ably defended by Brackenridge, § and the temper of the country was sufficiently democratic to make the issue doubtful. Washington himself prepared a statement of the facts showing how the lands had been bought by him in 1767 and how the squatters had paid no heed to interdicts which were sent them in 1776 and again in 1779; and Smith, having induced him to forego a claim for damages, ¶

* I omitted to inform you . . that the lands and other estates of which I am possessed would sell for about four thousand guineas." Letter to his mother of 3rd December, 1784.

† "I have three young gentlemen studying the law with me, one of whom is the third son of my brother and benefactor William—I trust I have it in my power to return some small part of the great obligation I am under to the father through the son. You may know his age, for he was not born till three years after I left Scotland, yet he is three inches higher than I am—he possesses a very fine genius and a judgment far above his years—he is a fine public speaker, and if his life and health are preserved, he bids fair to be an ornament to the profession for which he is intended. To prepare him to be a great and, what is more, a good man, no pains shall be spared on my part."—*Ibid.*

‡ "Your zeal on behalf of our college has long ago, and often, excited my warmest regard." Letter to Smith from Dr Benjamin Rush, of 26th February, 1790.

§ Hugh Henry Brackenridge was a Scotsman like himself, three years his junior. He was born at Campbeltown in 1748, the son of a poor farmer. He afterward became Smith's colleague on the bench of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Cf. *infra* p. 113.

¶ Smith's action in this matter was characteristic—he was nothing if not just and cautious—and Washington's reply is equally to his credit. On 17th November, 1785, Smith, in acknowledging a communication of "the 14th of July last," wrote, "In the last letter which you did me the honour to write to me, you signified your desire that I would bring actions of trespass for mesne profits against all the defendents respectively. That may produce a good effect by convincing them that you are sensible of the injury they have done you, and determined to have every satisfaction that the law can give you. Or it may produce a bad effect in the minds of the jury who are to try the ejectments—their modes of thinking may lead them to believe the defendants rather unfortunate than otherwise; and as these double actions will ruin most of them, will not the jury be willing to lay hold of every point, however trifling, which may make against your title in favour of the defendants? Pardon this liberty, Sir—believe me these sentiments are dictated by the most pure and ardent desire to promote whatever may be for your interest." He instanced a case where this actually happened. Washington answered that he had no intention of bringing the actions for trespass until the main case was settled; and never should have thought of this mode of punishment, had he not "viewed the defendants as obstinate and wilful sinners, persevering after timely and repeated admonition"; "but," he added, "from the statement of the cases which you have mentioned, I now leave it altogether discretionary with you, whether to bring them afterwards, or not." *Life*, p. 181.

felt that his case was on sound lines and a favourable verdict amply warranted by justice. The trial took place on 24th-26th October, 1786, and resulted in Washington's favour. Smith's feelings may be best judged from the letter in which he reports the judgment to his client. "I have the very great pleasure to inform you," he wrote, "that verdicts have been given in your favour. Your satisfaction on this occasion may be equal to, but cannot exceed mine. I was never more agitated between hopes and fears in any cause in which I have been engaged. I had during the war been repeatedly chosen for almost every honourable office which my fellow citizens could bestow (to which my merit gave me no pretensions and which must therefore have been the more flattering to my vanity): but believe me, Sir, when I assure you that I am more proud of having it said that General Washington selected me as his counsel in an affair of this importance than of all the distiguished stations in which I had been so often placed." * That his pride was justified is borne out by a remark of Judge Biddle that "There was marked ability at our bar at the time, and it is much to the credit of Thomas Smith that General Washington should have selected him, from a body of such strong men, to conduct ejectment proceedings in Washington county. † . . . Being a painstaking and exact man, his work was always well done."

It may be interesting to mention that Smith at first refused a fee, leaving the question of remuneration to Washington himself. Washington insisted that he should make a charge; and Smith eventually retained £50 for himself, and a like sum for his junior attorney. He was guided to this figure by Yeates, who suggested that he should ask exactly double!

The Federal Constitution of 1789.

A lawyer of such eminence could not be hidden; and it became evident that, sooner or later, Smith was destined for preferment. His promotion lingered, however; and it is sad to think that the cause was political animus. As long as the Single Chamber Legislature adopted by Pennsylvania in 1776 held the field, Smith remained "in the wilderness." The constitutionalists at the seat of government

* Letter to General Washington, 7th November, 1786.

† "During that period Thomas Duncan (Justice, 1817-27) had the most extensive business, whilst Jasper Yeates (Justice, 1791-1817) and James Hamilton (President Judge, 1808-19) and other distinguished lawyers were also active practitioners." *Life*, p. 187.

had no desire to place in power one whose persuasion was different from their own; and, as it happened, the electors in the mountainous region of Cumberland County were strongly in favour of the Constitution, so that there was little hope while he remained there of his ever again being chosen for a seat in the public councils. Forces were at work, however, which proved too strong even for the ardent constitutionalists. The limitations of Congress, which were so apparent during the war, became yet more marked with the settlement of peace; and a group of patriotic statesmen, led by Alexander Hamilton, determined, to give the United States a truly Federal Government—a government, that is, whose constitution should be binding on *all* the states. The subject was first mooted at a conference held in Washington's home at Mount Vernon in 1786, and two conventions at Annapolis and Philadelphia paved the way for its reception. At the latter which met on 25th May, 1787, two plans were submitted—the Virginia Plan, which placed all executive power in the hands of a popularly elected assembly and the New Jersey Plan, which still left the executive power in the separate states. As has been well said, the one aimed at a "union of the people," the other at "a league of states." * Hamilton repudiated both. He was anxious to see a governor appointed with practically monarchical powers; and though he failed in this, he yet succeeded in getting the consent of the convention to a compromise whereby "the legislature was to consist of two chambers, of which the Assembly was to be chosen by the people on a basis of population, and the Senate by the States upon the principle of equality among themselves. † The chief opposition came from his own state (New York), but at a conference of leaders there, held at Poughkeepsie in 1788, his eloquent pleading turned a minority of twenty-seven into a majority of three; and the following year the new constitution was ratified by a majority of states, and General Washington elected first President. ‡ A form of government for which in 1776 Thomas Smith had struggled in vain in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, thus became in 1789 law for the whole of the United States.

* F. S. Oliver's "*Life of Hamilton*," p. 149.
† *Ibid.* p. 157.
‡ Cf. American History, "*Life of Hamilton*," Etc.

A District Court Judge.

The time was now ripe for his services to be recognised; and the judicial provisions of the new constitution having called for a rearrangement of the courts, five new districts were created in Pennsylvania, over one of which he was appointed President Judge.* His district covered Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Mifflin Counties, and had a population of 56,000. At five centres he held courts — Carlisle, Lewistown, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Chambersburg. *Ex Officio* he was also a member of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. Fortunately the bulk of his work was still at Carlisle, so that there was no need to change his home.

His commission was signed on 20th August, 1791; on 1st September he had it recorded at Carlisle.† His first court was held at Huntingdon on the 5th of the same month. The courthouses of those days were for the most part mean buildings, consisting generally of a two-storey log structure, of which the lower half was the prison (*e.g.*, at Lewistown). Huntingdon did not even boast a court-house, and the courts were held in Mrs Haines' tavern in Allegheny Avenue, the tavern bar-room being divided into two parts by a pole. When Judge Smith took his seat there, an amusing incident befell for which the free and easy nature of the surroundings doubtless helped to account. In the audience there was a chain-carrier, Pat Leonard by name, who had often accompanied the judge when he was a surveyor. Evidently Pat had found Tom an agreeable companion, but forgetting that there was an essential difference between the familiarity of camp life, and the austerity of a judicial bench, he overstepped the bounds. He secured a bowl of punch, and making his way to the judge, shouted out, "Here, Tom, take a bleer of this before you charge the jury!" To his surprise Pat found himself convicted for contempt of court.§

While Judge Smith had thus a high regard for his office, he had also a keen sense of justice. He rebuked an attorney one day who *thanked* the court for a favourable judgment—the court was there to

* It looked at one time as if he might be appointed Attorney General for the United States, but "Governor Mifflin was not inclined to give up his programme." Smith's modesty is apparent in a letter written to Jasper Yeates when he first received intimation of his probable appointment: "I am afraid that you . . overrate my abilities. I am far from thinking that my professional success has been owing to extensive talents. I ascribe it more to punctuality and attention in the discharge of every trust reposed in me." —Letter to Yeates dated Carlisle, 18th July, 1791.

† See Appendix D.

§ *Life*, p. 219

deal impartially by friend or foe. "Were the counsel on the other side," he remarked, "to say, 'We *blame* the court,' the expression would certainly be thought improper." On another occasion he drew the attention of the bar to the improper use they constantly made of the phrase, "May it please your Honours." "The appellation," he said, "not being given to us by the Constitution or Laws of the Country, it will be agreeable to the court if you decline giving it in future." He recommended them to address "This Honourable Court." The spirit in which he did his work, and the esteem in which he held his judicial functions, were never better revealed perhaps than on the occasion when he took his seat in the court at Carlisle. Addressing the Jury and the officers of the court, he said—"Let us conclude by impressing on the minds of all our fellow-citizens of every class, whose duty it is to attend at court, that it is only by our united exertions in practical, diligent, and faithful discharge of the duties of our several stations, that the real dignity of the court can be supported and justice administered to the satisfaction of the public." *

His custom was to attend the various courts in turn, beginning with Carlisle and ending with Lewistown. At Carlisle there were most cases, however, and occasionally he varied his circuit to suit the pressing needs there. † The High Court of Errors and Appeals met at Philadelphia, and the distance was so great that he seems to have limited his attendance upon it to the July sessions. It is said to have been at that time "one of the strongest and ablest courts Pennsylvania ever had." § Unfortunately none of his opinions on the bench as a President Judge, and only one of his charges have come down to us; but that he did his work faithfully and—in the estimation of those qualified to judge—ably, is undoubted. Judge Biddle, who at a much later date presided over the Cumberland Courts, writes of him—"Thomas Smith was both talented and industrious; and after a careful

* Ibid. p. 213.—An even more telling instance of his sense of justice is found in a letter to A. J. Dallas, Secretary of the Commonwealth, when referring to the case of a plaintiff, he wrote:—"He has too much sense to expect that I can so far overlook the duty which I owe to the station in which I am placed, as to decline prosecuting the defendant, even if he were my son." *Life*, p. 219.

† "The schedule seems to have been Carlisle, Huntingdon, Bedford, Chambersburg, and Lewistown, except when work was too great at Carlisle." Life, p. 216—There were usually above a hundred cases at Carlisle, and eighty at the January term of 1794, the last of his service on that bench." *Ibid.* p. 221.

§ *Life*, p. 226. Its members were Benjamin Chew (President), Thomas M'Kean, Edward Shippen, William Bradford, jr., (afterwards Attorney General), Jasper Yeates, James Biddle, William Augustus Atlee, Alexander Addison, and Smith.

study of the careers of the long line of judges who have succeeded him in this district, I cannot name one whom I deem to have been his superior." *

Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

A yet higher office awaited him. On 28th January, 1794, the Hon. William Bradford, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was appointed Attorney General of the United States; and three days later a commission was granted in favour of Smith as his successor. †

On the Supreme bench he had interesting colleagues. Thomas M'Kean, the Chief Justice, had served with Smith in the Assembly, and was President of Congress for part of the time when Smith was a member. He was a shrewd lawyer and a man of forceful character. Five years later he was appointed Governor of Pennsylvania in succession to Mifflin, and no one in public office better maintained a sturdy independence while acting fairly by all parties. §

Edward Shippen had also known Smith since the days of America's struggle for independence. For a time he was President of the Court of Common Pleas, but was commissioned to succeed Justice Bryan on the Supreme Bench in 1791. His legal abilities and long and faithful service led to him being appointed Chief Justice when M'Kean became Governor in 1799.

Jasper Yeates was Smith's life-long friend. He was in practice at Lancaster when Smith arrived in the country, and they met as colleagues and opponents in many a case. As one of the Commissioners on Indian Affairs appointed by Congress in 1776, he was brought into close contact with him. Politically they were also in

* Letter to Konkle dated June 15th, 1903.

† The judges of the Supreme Courts seem to have been styled "Justices." For text of commission see Appendix E.

§ An interesting instance of his firmness was seen at the time of the impeachment of the Justices of the Supreme Courts (Cf. infra p. 117). A section thought Brackenridge's letter asking that his name be included in the libel against the other judges an insolent piece of bravado warranting his removal. The Governor refused. They pointed out that "may remove" in the constitution meant "must remove." The 'Thunderer' reminded them that it sometimes meant "won't remove!" *Life*, p. 256.—Another instance of his independence was shown when in 1805 he appointed William Tilghman to the office of Chief Justice. Tilgham was a Federalist and the Democrats of Philadelphia protested against his appointment. "Indeed!" said M'Kean to the committee who lodged the protest. "Inform your constituents that I bow with submission to the will of the great Democracy of Philadelphia, but by God, William Tilghman *shall* be Chief Justice of Pennsylvania." *Life*, p. 269.

sympathy, for Yeates was a keen Federalist; and no one did more to secure Smith's promotion when the Federal constitution was at last adopted.

Letters to Justice Yeates.

With such colleagues Smith was very happy. He established intimate relations with them all; and being of a self-effacing character they delighted to do him honour. Never indeed does Smith appear in a more human light than in his letters to them. With Yeates especially he adopted a familiar strain which makes very pleasant reading. In one he describes the worries incidental to his removal; for of course it was now essential to have his home in Philadelphia, and in September of the same year as his appointment he brought his wife and family to reside at 236 South Second Street. "I have been busily employed in beginning housekeeping a second time," he writes. "I had no idea of the trouble, anxiety, and loss attending this business till I made the experiment. I bought my former furniture during the war at about one and a half times its value. What I sold of it brought little more than about half what I gave for it. I would have brought most of it down had I known that there had been such a rapid rise in the prices of many articles here—that rise is caused by the increased price of imported articles, and the absence of the greater number of the best mechanics in the militia. Workmen must be fawned upon and flattered to do their best work, and when they have done it, they think they have done you a great favour if they charge only double price. If you venture to hint that their charge is too high, they tell you that they must soon charge higher, as money is now depreciating as fast as it did in the beginning of the war. Nor is the observation ill-founded, for a number of my acquaintances assure me that the expense of living in the city, including house rent, has increased one third within the last three years. I have thus *gained a loss, or* "advanced backwards," as an Irishman would say, by my last promotion!" *

In another passage he is even more self-revealing. "I believe Tacy † told you," he writes, "that I had provided so well at markets and stores for the reception of the family that she was astonished. I had indeed provided as much beef, veal, and butter, as would have

* His salary was £600 per annum.

† His pet name for his wife.

lasted the family a week. Unluckily they had been kept about a week too long before I bought them! I cannot brag of my improvement in marketing since. A few days afterwards, in strolling along the new market, I saw some fish on a string, which I thought were small Rock. I bought them at what I supposed was a reasonable price, and exultingly produced them to Tacy when she came down stairs. 'Rock, my dear,' she exclaimed, 'why, they are Suckers—ah, ha, ha!' Thanks to the cats, they soon put it out of her powers, had any acquaintance come in to prove *what* they were! Determined to make amends for my mistake, I went about ten days ago to Market Street Wharf, and contented myself with a few small Rock, which appeared very fresh. You may be sure I knew better than to buy Suckers again. As I brought them along I met Sharp Delaney. 'I am glad to see you at that business,' said he. 'It is an awkward business for me,' I answered, 'as I don't understand anything about it.' 'You have for all that,' he replied, 'got a string of as fine *herrings* as I ever saw.' Taking it for granted this was a joke of Sharp's, I trudged along and passed two women. Said one to the other, 'These are the finest herrings I ever saw.' Home I came, and gave orders that they should be put where the suckers had been put before. To my mortification the windows had been secured the previous day, and my character as a market-man was irretrievably lost!" *

He could also take his fun out of Yeates. In a letter of 29th January, 1797, he writes:—"Last Thursday evening I went into the 'Indian Queen' to see an acquaintance. On entering the door, my ears were stunned by a stentorian voice exclaiming that he had been kept awake all the previous night in Lancaster by three judges, playing cards and drinking wine in the room under that in which he lay. On approaching the gentleman, I discovered him to be an old acquaintance; and some time afterwards I asked him, in a whisper, who the judges were. He answered me in a whisper, but loud enough to be heard by every person in the room, and it was pretty full—'Judge Yeates, Judge Henry, and an old gentleman whose name he did not know.' I assure you I was pleased at the information. Several of our mutual friends told me that you confined yourself in your library as closely as a hermit in a cell, insomuch that you exposed yourself to the danger of blue devils. You seem to look on the bright side of things in term time and on the circuit, as much as any thinking man can!"

* Letter to Yeates of 1st November, 1794.

That he loved Yeates is evident from the trust he reposed in him and his constant desire to serve him—in questions affecting their duties he invariably deferred to him. "I assure you," he wrote on 15th July, 1797, "that if by exchanging circuits with you, I can accommodate you, either now or on any future occasion, I will do it with pleasure." On the other hand, where his reputation was at stake, he could be very direct—only to a friend indeed would such directness be pardonable. Yeates had apologised for inflicting on him additional work, and Smith wrote in reply:—"If you think I do not take pleasure in performing any business which you commit to my care, why the devil do you trouble me with it? I hate apologies where none are necessary; and not being necessary, they are improper." *

Life in Philadelphia.

It must have been an interesting world into which his new life brought him. Philadelphia was then a city of 55,000 inhabitants, and the seat not only of the Supreme Courts, etc., but of the Provincial and Federal Governments. President Washington had his home in the High Street—as also Treasurer Morris, Governor Mifflin, Justice Wilson, and Secretary Hamilton. Congress met in the capitol in the north west corner of the square: the court was held in the State House. Any day, passing to and from his work, Smith might meet with one or other of these men. He would also run across them in the social and literary institutions of the city. He was a member of the St. Andrew's Society (of which his friend Wilson was President, and his brother first Vice-President), the German Incorporated Society, the St. George Society, the Hibernian Society, and the French Benevolent Society. One advantage afforded him by his residence in the city he took full advantage of, viz., the library. On 8th December, 1794, he acquired share No. 769 in the Philadelphia and Logonian Libraries, and proved an omnivorous reader. Altogether life must have been much richer and fuller.

Opinions from the Bench.

Of his work as a judge on the Supreme Bench it is difficult to give any exact account. While upwards of eighty recorded expressions, opinions, and judgments have come down to us, these are for the most

* Letter to Yeates, August, 1799.

part so technical that only a lawyer would care to read them. Sometimes however where a matter of moral principle was involved he delivered judgments which have an interest for all time. Speaking of the tricks of an insolvent debtor, for example, he paints his fraud with a lurid brush:—"In this embarrassed situation," he writes, "a man all at once conveys to his children all his estate, which was of a certain intrinsic value for these notes, forsooth! 'Angels and ministers of grace defend us!' He must be wilfully blind indeed who cannot see the farce acted in this transaction. His counsel certainly had great command of their countenances to refrain from laughter in stating it! I could as soon believe in transubstantiation, as believe that he did not make these conveyances from an apprehension that the immense sum might be in danger, which determined him to secure to himself all his estate of certain value. I say to himself, for in such family transactions, a secret trust must be presumed. The character of Lear's daughters are not nature; but yet no father, in full possession of his reason, will put his estate in the power of his children, and render himself dependent on them, without sinister motives. It is contended that this fraud is confined to *concealing* part of his estate. Consequently, he may wilfully and deliberately convey the whole, or the greater part of it, in such manner as to put it beyond the reach of his creditors, with even an avowed intention to defraud them,—and yet he shall not be continued in prison for an hour, although he has defrauded them thereby of millions. Whereas if he conceals the smallest part with the same view, he is liable to imprisonment under the law. Commonsense and common honesty combine in forbidding such a construction—it would disgrace the morality of the Jesuits and even St. Omer's would blush at it." * The culprit *ought* to have writhed under such a verdict!

The following paragraph from a dissenting opinion bearing on forfeiture for treason is also interesting:—"In every nation, under every government, there are many men of gloomy, discontented minds, of vehement spirits, of disappointed or perverted ambition, of desperate fortunes. The minds of such men are restless, ever on the rack to gratify their malignity or their ambition, or to repair their shattered fortunes. So far as they consider themselves they are desperate; the peace, welfare, or happiness, or even the existence of government which protects them, can have no influence in restraining

*Life, pp. 249, 250.

such men from the most desperate measures to accomplish their purposes. The only human consideration, which can withhold them from endangering the nation, is their attachment to their wives and children; which is frequently implanted, for wise purposes, unusually strong in the minds of such men, by the all-wise Author of our being. From this point of view the law of forfeiture is merciful to mankind—it may sometimes be productive of partial ill, but its general effect will be universal good."*

Change of Residence.

An outbreak of yellow fever in the summer of 1797 caused Smith to change his place of residence. This disease was more or less chronic on the lower reaches of the Delaware, and was Philadelphia's worst scourge. Its prevalence during 1793, the year previous to his appointment as Justice of the Supreme Court, induced him to postpone the removal of his family from Carlisle until the late autumn of 1794: but his family had now increased to seven (six daughters and one son), and for their sakes he resolved to find a home in a more salubrious district than South Second Street. He therefore acquired a villa in the High Street, the favourite residential quarter with national and state government officers. Five years afterwards it was numbered 256 High Street: when he bought it, it was unnumbered, being then on the border-land between country and city. In a letter to his cousin, Dr Peter Smith of Aldie, he describes his house and gives a vivid account of the epidemic which led him to purchase it. "I am sorry I must inform you," he writes, "that a malignant, contagious fever, called the yellow fever, broke out again in this city three weeks ago, similar to that in 1793. It carried off near 5000 citizens then—the fever by which my brother lost his wife. Hitherto it has been confined to the vicinity of the River Delaware where it first broke out both times. The physicians are divided in opinion whether it was imported from the West Indies, or generated here—I join the former opinion: only about 100 have hitherto died of it. The citizens are so much alarmed that one third of them, perhaps, have left the city. I live in the very upper western side, a mile and a half from the place where the disease chiefly rages, and yet my goods have been packed these six days, ready to move on the first information of its approach. Four days ago seven of the doctors were confined by fevers—some of the yellow

* *Life*, p. 260.

fever. One of them was married on Saturday evening—seized Sunday —died on Tuesday. . . . . Since I wrote last, I have bought an elegant new house in the best part of the city. I have paid already nearly three thousand guineas for it, and it will cost me about two hundred more to finish the back buildings. Many of our new houses are built in a very elegant style—the room in which I now write is 26 feet 2 inches square. The price is more than my fortune enables me to give (that is, it is such a house as my family could not keep after my decease); but the education of my family was a principal inducement to my coming to reside in the city. Now most of those in the upper ranks of life, who have large families, take a house in the country in the summer; but in my house I have the benefits of the city and country combined—all the advantages of country air. The house being in the best part of the principal street in the city, it may be sold for its value at any hour." *

Letters to Dr Peter Smith of Aldie.

Ever since he had gone to America, he had corresponded with his cousin. Dr Peter Smith was the intermediary indeed of many of his messages to friends in the old country—especially to his mother; and some passages afford rare sidelights on Justice Smith's character and give expression to opinions which could only have been revealed in correspondence with an intimate friend. In the same letter in which he describes his new house there is a postscript which shows him at play with his children. "I have since I wrote the last sentence," he says, "been witness to a scene of infantine distress, arising from jealousy. Two of my younger daughters generally lead me upstairs to breakfast or dinner; and if more than two come, the two youngest have the choice (unless one of them has committed a fault, in which case she is not permitted to have this honour). To-day when notice was given that dinner was ready, the two youngest came down hand in hand as usual; but the third girl had slipt down the back stairs, and took me up that way, before the others arrived. The little things cried with vexation and hardly ate any dinner." † He adds that this is put in for their grandmother to read.

A letter at a later date (18th April, 1802) shows the fulness of his domestic happiness. "I removed from Carlisle to this expensive place

* Letter to Dr Peter Smith of Aldie, 3rd September, 1797.
† *Ibid.*

for the purpose of having my daughters educated, the country not yet being furnished with schools for female education. The three youngest are now at the schools. They learn reading and writing accurately; arithmetic, geography, dancing; and—such as have an ear for it—music. My three eldest play on the Forte Piano. I have since I wrote the last line, performed a hymn on the same instrument myself this Easter morning—my custom every Sunday morning as soon as I rise. Having occasionally amused myself during thirty years with the violin, I immediately learned the notes of the Forte Piano; but before I bought one for my daughters, my fingers had become too stiff (my right hand being lame) for me to perform with ease. * My two eldest daughters learned French also for a while, so that my eldest could write me in that language; but that nation and language falling into disrepute here, the school was broken up, and they have, I suppose, forgotten what they did learn. Their valuable mother, as remarkable for industry as for economy, brings them up to both. My eldest or third could keep house and manage the affairs of the family, should the greatest of all misfortunes happen to me and to them. By the example of such a mother religion is made amiable to her daughters. Five of them walked before us to Church on Friday (Williamina remaining at home to superintend the family affairs). Mrs Smith took Juliana to our worthy Bishop yesterday to be confirmed; and they are all preparing to join in the rites of to-day—I must remain at home to finish this letter. My beloved wife was by the effects of the war deprived of almost the whole of the fortune which she expected to bring me; but she has proved a fortune herself, and has essentially assisted me in acquiring a competency very far beyond my expectations or merits. By the blessing of God upon my unwearied industry, I am worth about 12,000 guineas." †

In another letter we have a somewhat pathetic picture of the closing years of his brother William's life. "I informed you in the letter which I suppose was taken," he writes, "that my brother had lost his amiable wife in the malignant fever which raged here so dreadfully in the autumn of 1793. Since that time he lives forlorn and disconsolate, bereaved of that serenity which her society would have given to the evening of his days. Last Spring he had a severe attack of pleurisy, from which he has indeed recovered, but apparently impaired both in body and mind. He lives at his country seat in a

* The result of a fall from his horse.
† *Life*, pp. 263. 264.

beautiful situation commanding a near view of the Schuylkill, five miles from the city—our sister and he live there as if in an hermitage. I ride out occasionally to see him; but when a man has lost the enjoyments of life, another must relinquish them while in his presence. He has made an ample fortune—the children, to whom it will devolve, would rejoice to see him enjoy his evening hours in the proper use of it; but as I frequently tell him, he never will." *

That letter also contains an interesting passage on the relations then subsisting between Britain and America, and his own conceptions of America's international duty. "I am not without painful apprehensions," he states, "that a stop may soon be put to the intercourse between the two countries. Too eager grasping, and want of reciprocity on the part of Britain in the late treaty, have produced an intemperate flame among the people from one end of this country to the other. Unless unimpassioned reason should direct the councils of both nations, the consequences may be dreadful, and the enemies of both may have cause of triumph—they will no doubt be busy in both adding fuel to the flame. As I have never hitherto written a sentence on political subjects to you, you may suppose that I feel myself interested on the present occasion. I do indeed. The first political wish of my heart is that the United States may support their honour and dignity—the next is that they may never forget their obligations to France—and then that, consistently with both, there may be a lasting and liberal reciprocation of good offices between us and the nation which gave me birth." †

Quarrel with Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

The appointment of M'Kean to the Governorship of Pennsylvania, and the elevation of Shippen to the office of Chief Justice, gave him a new colleague on the bench in 1799. This was Hugh Henry Brackenridge, a native of Campbeltown, and his junior by three years, who had acted as counsel for the settlers in the famous case in which Smith acted as counsel for General Washington. Smith wished to see another Scotsman appointed—Alexander Addison, the President

* Letter to Dr Peter Smith, 11th August, 1795. The provost died on 14th May, 1803. Under his will Justice Smith was appointed one of his executors.

† *Ibid.*

Judge of the Fifth Judicial District; * but Addison's political sympathies were against him (he was a Federalist); and unfortunately he seems to have adopted a hortative (almost a hectoring) style, which vastly irritated his enemies and tried the patience even of his friends.

Between Smith and Brackenridge there seems to have existed a constitutional antipathy. Brackenridge was a wit, but his wit was often barbed; and Smith was nothing if not loyal to his friends. Brackenridge had also published a novel called "Modern Chivalry" which had given him a national reputation for fun. Smith enjoyed the fun, but doubted the sincerity of the author. The hostility was increased by the fact that after he had assumed office, Brackenridge impeached his friend Addison before the Senate of Pennsylvania for ordering a colleague to be silent when attempting a reply—an impeachment which the Supreme Court had refused to hear, but which was sustained by the Senate, and resulted in Addison's deposition.

Then an incident is said to have happened which estranged them for life. At dinner one night Brackenridge told the following story at Smith's expense. Smith, he said, was once presiding over a court where he was acting as attorney for the plaintiff—a notoriously mean man. The judge's rulings looked at first as if they were going against his client; and Brackenridge noting his anxious face, and unable to repress a joke even at the expense of the man who had employed him, whispered, "Hand over a few Half Joes (a coin then current), and I'll bribe the judge during the lunch hour." To his surprise his client handed over the entire contents of his pocket. After lunch, as it so happened, Smith's rulings became more favourable; and Bracken-

* Justice Smith gives the following account of Addison's career in a letter to his cousin Dr P. Smith of Aldie: — "Alexander Addison, Esq., who came from Banff, or rather I think from a town nearer the mouth of the Deveron, has been a very lucky fellow indeed. He came into the country with Dr Nisbet about eight or nine years ago. Being educated at Aberdeen for a Presbyterian clergyman, he was not ordained, but was licensed to preach by a presbytery over the mountains and settled there to his satisfaction. But because he was liberal in his sentiments, the bigoted and narrow-minded presbytery refused to ordain him, though the people were pleased; and having sent to the place of his nativity for the lady to whom he was engaged, and the charge of a family coming on, the wretches sought to starve him into hypocrisy. Having a vigorous mind, he betook himself to the study of the law with the utmost diligence, under the direction of a gentleman of eminence; and having a clear and logical head, he soon made progress. The gentlemen of the bar seeing and feeling for his situation, took him by the hand, and on our joint recommendation, he was on my motion, admitted an attorney; in consequence of which he was soon chosen a member of the Convention where he distinguished himself. He is now President of the courts over the mountains, with a salary of £500 a year (our money): whereas had he proceeded in his first views, he would have hardly expected £150. I mention him as an example of diligence and perseverance, aided by a proper education, strength of mind, and prudent deportment."—Letter to Dr Smith of 17th June, 1793.

ridge (in his element the whole time, for he was confident of the success of his case) could not refrain from whispering, "The Half Joes are working!" Finally the judge summed up, and recommended the jury to find for the plaintiff. The poor man, completely deceived turned to Brackenridge with ill-suppressed excitement. "My word," he whispered, "them Half Joes *have done their work*." Smith, who was present, rose in anger from the table. "Sir!" he said, addressing Brackenridge, "you have done me an injury for which nothing can ever atone. That man went down to his grave in the belief that I was an unjust judge. As long as you live, never speak to me again." *

Description by Horace Binney.

If Smith had a fault, indeed, it was that he was too serious. No doubt Brackenridge sinned against good taste, both in the nature of his joke, and in the time he chose for telling it; but his fault was not unpardonable, and had Smith possessed a bigger sense of humour, his wrath would have been only temporary. But like most men, who have had to struggle against adversity, he was too dead in earnest: and on no points, perhaps, was he more sensitive than his honour as a man and his honesty as a judge. Indeed he was scrupulously anxious even to respect the conventions of life, and would have endured almost any personal trouble or discomfort rather than do a wrong thing. This is clearly brought out in a description of him by Horace Binney, who joined the bar as an attorney about this very time (1800),—the portrait is so good that it deserves to be given in full.

"Smith," he writes, "was defectively educated in the law, but by great industry had amassed a considerable knowledge of it. He was, like Yeates, a case lawyer; inferior, however, to him in the extent of his learning, and even less inclined to leave for a moment the support of adjudged cases for that of principle—a good fault in moderation, but a gross one in excess.

He was rough and bearish in his manners, uncouth in his person and address, and was incapable of raising the skin by a reproof without making a gash. But he was a truly honest man, as far as his prejudices —which were probably unknown to himself—would permit; and under that shaggy coat there was a kind and warm heart. He had been a deputy surveyor, and from this perhaps got the habit of always moving

* *Life*, p. 254.

in a right line—that is, the shortest line to his point—and thus contrasted broadly with the waving lines of the Chief Justice (Shippen) and Mr Yeates; though, if he had had more knowledge of the law and the general affairs of men, his disposition in this respect would have been best for the bench and the public.

His notions of ceremony were very strange, and with his utter inability to dress, or make a bow, or do anything else like other people, made him in some situations irresistible. Mr Rawle upon one occasion invited some of the bench and bar to dine with him at Harley, his summer residence near the Falls of Schuylkill; and I was one of the party. It was a day in July, excessively hot, and the Ridge Road dusty to suffocation. I went with some of my young friends in a hackney coach, and we overtook Judge Smith on the road. He was on horseback, in enormous boots that came above his knees like a fisherman's, a cocked hat exposing his whole face to the fiery sun, and a full cloth dress which had been black probably when he set out, but when we saw him was most dirty drab. Some fifteen minutes after our arrival he came into the saloon where the company had assembled. His hat was then in his hand, but on his head was a mass of paste made by the powder and pomatum, a part of which had run down in white streams upon his face, as red in all the unplastered parts as a boiled lobster, and his immense boots and spurs, broad skirted coat, and the rest of the appearance I have described, made him the most extraordinary figure for a summer dinner that I have ever seen. But he did not appear to think that he was otherwise than he ought to be for the honour of his host, or for his own comfort.

To this person I owe more real kindness and civility, both at the bar and elsewhere, than to any other judge of the court until the time of William Tilghman. I know, moreover, from the representation of one who knew him better than I did, that he was susceptible of the noblest emotions of generosity and benevolence." *

Impeachment for Dereliction of Duty.

Early in 1804 Smith found himself, along with Chief Justice Shippen and Justice Yeates, in the trying position of being impeached for dereliction of duty. A case over an insurance policy was being tried before the Supreme Court; and while the matter was still *sub judice*, the plaintiff posted a libel against the defendant in a public

* Horace Binney, Cf. Introduction to *Life* by H. L. Carson.

coffee-house. For this action the Supreme Court convicted him for contempt of court. When sentence was pronounced, he protested; alleging that the defendant was the real aggressor. Judge Smith pointed out that this was adding insult to injury; and Judge Yeates firmly remarked that, sentence having been passed, they could hear no more. The plaintiff was forthwith imprisoned. The successful impeachment of Addison by Brackenridge, however, evidently encouraged a hope in his breast that he might yet be revenged against the judges; and accordingly he appealed to the House of Representatives to summon Chief Justice Shippen, and Justices Yeates and Smith to answer for their conduct. These were the three judges who were present when he was convicted; though, to Brackenridge's credit, it ought to be stated that he wrote the House, pointing out that while he was at the time absent he had concurred in the judgment of his colleagues; and he asked his name to be included in the libel. Brackenridge's request was refused; but the House determined to employ counsel to state their case for impeaching the other three, and with this end in view approached the leading members of the bar of Pennsylvania. Without exception they upheld the action of the judges and refused to act. The House therefore went to Delaware and employed a member of the bar there—Cæsar Rodney. The judges employed as counsel Jared Ingersoll and A. J. Dallas, both well-known advocates, whose public services gave them a right to be heard. The trial opened on 7th January, 1805, when the Senate sat as a court at Lancaster with the Speaker as president, and lasted nearly three weeks. Dallas and Ingersoll made able appeals on behalf of the men "whose fair, fair character to that moment was unimpeached"; and feeling in the state ran high, the excitement being almost as great indeed as in the old days of the contest over the constitution of 1776. At last on the morning of the 25th the vote was taken, and resulted in 13 voting for impeachment and 11 against. As the new constitution demanded a two-thirds majority in order to secure an impeachment, the Speaker announced that the judges were acquitted.

It may seem strange that it was possible to obtain even a majority against them. But deeper issues were at stake than appear on the surface. The protest of the plaintiff in the insurance case was merely the overt occasion of the trial: the real aim was to break through or break down the clause of the constitution which insisted that judges be appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*. Indeed the immediate result of the trial was to create a clamour for reorganisation of the judiciary.

On 24th February, 1806, an Act was passed, providing (1) that the state should be divided into an eastern and western district where the whole court should sit, (2) that greater opportunity should be given for *Nisi Prius* courts, (3) that circuit courts should be held in each county with only one supreme judge on the bench, (4) that the High Court of Errors and Appeals should be given two years to wind up its business and then be abolished, and (5) that the Common Pleas districts should be increased to ten. Smith saw all these reforms carried out—with most of them he concurred. He sat for the last time as a judge in the High Court of Errors and Appeals on 29th December, 1806, and two years later, on 2nd July, 1808, it held its final session. But the struggle which led to his impeachment along with the other judges, only ended long after Smith's lifetime—in 1851. In that year an Act was passed making the judiciary elective. *

Chief Justice William Tilghman.

The judges had waited the result of the trial with equanimity, but undoubtedly it shook one of them—Chief Justice Shippen. He was then an old man of seventy-five, and he only waited the sentence of acquittal to send in his resignation. His successor was William Tilghman, a name still held in reverence in legal circles in America. He was a son of the Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania and had studied under Provost Smith. In 1801 he was appointed Chief Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, and in 1804 President Judge of the Common Pleas of Philadelphia. No Chief Justice could have been more acceptable to his colleagues. He was a tower of strength, intellectually and morally; and few men were more loved. Smith found in him from the beginning a sympathetic helper; and the strength of his affection may be judged from the fact that, after a three years' acquaintance, he nominated him a trustee under his will, and chief guardian of his children. †

* *Life* pp. 255-8 Judges are now appointed for a period of years, but are eligible for re-election.

†*Life*, pp. 267-269 and 277. David Paul Brown gives the following description of Chief Justice Tilghman: "His person was slightly formed. He was about five feet eight inches high, with mild gray eyes, fine teeth, handsome features, and of the most gentle and amiable expression of countenance. His voice was very sweet though not strong, and his deportment upon the bench was marked by that attention which springs only from a conscientious desire of a faithful performance of duty." *The Forum*, vol. I., p. 344.

Failing Health.

The time was drawing near when he needed such a friend, for his health had begun to show signs of uncertainty. Writing to his cousin on 12th June, 1802, he said, "I begin to feel the weight of years. My aged parent must feel it much worse—the general weakness which you mention is a forerunner of her removal from this state of being. May her few days be serene, and her dissolution easy, most fervently prays to God her dutiful son, who must not hope that heaven will permit him to arrive at the good old age which his mother has attained." *

Two years later his strength had failed considerably, and he wrote his cousin on 16th September, 1804, as follows:—"My health I feel gradually declining, although I am very well just now. The duty of a surveyor is very severe and undermined my constitution twenty-five years ago. . . . Since I was appointed a judge, our duty has been very hard indeed, owing to the rapid increase in the population. We had only 13 counties a few years before I came on the bench: we have now no less than 30, yet the number of judges is the same. I have twice been on the point of resigning on account of my health. It was not till three days ago that I believed I would be able to go the long western circuit this autumn. I have for 18 years been afflicted with a cough which I caught by being obliged to sit up all night (1st January) in a frontier court house trying a cause—at times, and especially of late, it has been very violent, approaching frequently to an *angina pectoris*."

His first serious breakdown occurred in the end of 1806. He caught a bilious fever while on Circuit in the autumn, and on returning

* His mother nevertheless survived him.

For the most part his health—in early years especially—was good. In a letter to St. Clair of 2nd August, 1776, he speaks of a somewhat serious illness. "Immediately on my coming to town I fell sick with a very serious bilious colic which had well nigh done for me. I relapsed so frequently that I was obliged at last to undergo a very severe course of physic, which confined me for two months, and reduced me to a perfect skeleton; but I have every appearance of enjoying a more perfect state of health than I have for some years."—*Life*, p. 75.—He also suffered from an attack of influenza in 1792, and from a fever and catarrh in 1796—the latter leaving him with a chronic cough. Otherwise until 1802 he had no severe illnesses. He gives an amusing account in a letter to Yeates of his illness in 1796:—"I was confined to my bed for ten days. Dr Rush by bleeding, cathartics, and sudorifics, reduced me pretty low, so that I believe I should have kept my bed for some days longer, had he not threatened me with his lancet again. This made me get up! I met Dr Rush yesterday morning. He immediately ordered me to lose more blood. Seeing me begin to growl, he exclaimed, 'Not a word. Don't you know that I am lord of the lancet?' I have not obeyed him." Letter to Yeates, 6th July, 1796.

home, sent for Dr Rush, * who ordered him to bed. "I had not before been absent from court," he wrote to Dr Peter Smith on 29th January, 1807, "six hours during upwards of 15 years. I was so enfeebled by the disease that I am recovering but gradually. I had lost my appetite and colour: both and my strength are restored so much that I was able to dine yesterday with the Spanish Minister here, but Mrs Smith would not let me walk either thither or back. I therefore at her request used our coach, as I did from necessity during the week that I attended court. If, as I hope, I shall be again restored to as much health as can be expected in my 62nd year (after a very fatiguing life during 38 years of it) I cannot be sufficiently grateful to the merciful and beneficent Creator and Preserver of my being."

Four days after writing in these terms, Tilghman and he opened a criminal court in Philadelphia which sat for two weeks. During the second week—the coldest day of the session—the court was so crowded that the windows had to be opened, and Smith caught pneumonia. He was confined to bed for three weeks, and was so reduced that, even at the end of six, he could scarcely mount his horse. On 10th March, 1807, Yeates wrote his wife:—"Judge Smith rides out daily, but looks miserable. I think he will scarcely be able to attend court again this session." †

Research Work in English Statute Law.

But that fear was falsified. Before the end of March he was back again in court; and he was also able to undertake a near circuit, Chief Justice Tilghman offering to go on the distant circuit for him. He was far from fit, however. Writing to his cousin the following January he confesses that "the lawyers on behalf of themselves and their clients —the jurors also—joined in entreating me not to sit in court more at the great risk of my life, but I persevered." § Fortunately about this very time he found an occupation demanded by the duties of his office, for which he was much more fitted physically, than attending court, or riding out on circuit. On 7th April, 1807, the Legislature passed an Act requiring the judges to report "which of the English Statutes are in force in this Commonwealth and which should be incorporated into the Statute law of the state." The research necessitated by such

* Dr Rush was the family physician and had long been intimate with Smith. He sat in Congress in 1776, and was one of the founders of the Dickinson College at Carlisle.

† *Life*, p. 272.

§ Letter to Dr P. Smith, 11th January, 1808.

a report was wholly congenial to him, and was "possibly the most important work on which Judge Smith was engaged during the rest of his life." It occupied him till 8th December, 1808; when the report, "corrected and supplemented by the other judges 'during the short intervals of official occupation'," was given in. Horace Binney, who inserts it in the third volume of his *Decisions,* writes—"In many respects this report deserves to be placed by the side of judicial decisions, being the result of very great research and deliberation by the judges, and of their united opinion. It may perhaps not be considered as authoritative as judicial precedent; but it approaches so nearly to it, that a safer guide in practice or a more respectable, not to say decisive authority in argument, cannot be wanted by the profession." *

Last Illness and Death.

His health, however, did not improve. He spent the summer of 1807 at Bedford Springs seeking the benefit of the mineral waters, but during his circuit that autumn an attack of influenza, which was then epidemic, brought back his cough in accentuated form. He was able for his work in 1808; though it is evident from the following paragraph in a letter which Yeates sent his wife on 22nd September, that his condition was a matter of anxiety both to himself and to his fellow-judges:—"Judge Smith was not so well as I could have wished when we parted. His health is in a very ticklish situation, and I dread the effects of the bad weather on him when he crosses the Allegheny river." But at the December term, when the spring circuits for 1809 were arranged, he seemed much better, and was assigned the Delaware district. On 20th February he held a *Nisi Prius* Court at Philadelphia which lasted for four weeks; and on 20th March he took his seat with the other judges in the general Supreme Court which opened that day. He looked so feeble, however, that his colleagues begged him not to attend. He persevered till Wednesday, 29th March, when, as the minutes of the court state, he "left his seat on the bench in consequence of indisposition."

He only lived other two days. He dined as usual on Wednesday after returning home, but he felt ill, and soon afterwards went to bed. He complained of a pain in the head, and suffered from violent nausea. Dr Rush, who was summoned, lulled the pain with laudanum. On

* Life, p. 273

Thursday he was quieter, but there was no improvement; and early next morning—Good Friday—he passed peacefully away. It was such an end as he had often wished. Death had for him no terrors, and strong Christian faith mitigated the grief left behind. "We will not sorrow as those that have no hope," wrote his brave wife * to his aged mother. He was buried on Easter Sunday, 2nd April, in the graveyard of Christ Church, of which he had been a member since his advent to the city. † On one side is the tomb of Dr Franklin; on the other that of Dr Rush, who attended him during his last illness. A flat marble of rectangular shape marks the spot where he lies, and bears a just summary of his career and virtues. ‡

Estimates of Life and Work.

When the court met on 4th April, Yeates suspended a judgment. "The late mournful event," he said, "has put it out of my power to examine the law, and therefore the cause must be continued under advisement." Tilghman, when giving an opinion of the court at a later date, expressed a similar apology. "In this cause," he said, "as in many others, we feel the loss of our brother Smith;" and he advocated an adjournment. The fact was that Smith had made such an intimate study of the land laws, that almost all causes in which tenure of land was under dispute were referred in the first instance to him, and a reconsideration of these cases proved necessary. "He was regarded," wrote Chief Justice Sharswood, "as having a larger and more accurate knowledge of the land law of the state than any of his associates on the bench." §

On 11th May, the *United States Gazette* published an appreciation of him. It was written, his wife states, by "one who knew him well," but the authorship is unknown. ¶ Two quotations from it, dealing with his earlier days, have already appeared in the foregoing pages.

* His wife survived him barely two years. She died on 8th March, 1811, at the age of fifty-two, and was buried by his side.

† When the government removed to the Federal City in 1800 he occupied the "President's Pew," immediately behind his former seat. It is a double pew on the left of the middle aisle.

‡ For text of inscription on his tombstone see Appendix F.

§ *Life*, p. 279.

¶ "It has been thought that it was written by Chief Justice Tilghman or Editor Bronson, but the manuscript of it (whether copy or original cannot be known) which Mrs Smith sent to his mother in Scotland, is in the hand of his nephew and executor, Charles Smith."—*Life*, p. 280.

The following paragraphs are here inserted as summing up the position in which his legal and judicial services were regarded by his contemporaries :—

"The law was his profession, and he practised with industry and success; seeking to do justice, but abhorring iniquity and oppression; never greedy of gain, he was moderate in receiving the honourable reward of his professional services. He was a father to those who confided in him, however poor or afflicted; he delighted to encourage merit or virtue wherever he found them; but he exposed with severity—violence, fraud, and iniquity, whether clothed in rags or shrouded behind the mantles of wealth or influence. To those who sought it, he gave honest and sound advice in questions of law, according to the best of his skill and judgment: he discouraged law suits and scorned to foment litigation for the sake of gain. He may have frequently erred, more frequently have been deceived by statements imposed upon him by clients, but he never knowingly recommended the prosecution of an unjust cause."

"When the justiciary department, under the present constitution of Pennsylvania, was organised, he was appointed president of the district composed of the counties of Cumberland, Mifflin, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Franklin, in which office he continued until, upon the resignation of Mr Bradford, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The arduous duties of both these stations he performed with skill and integrity. He spared not himself in sickness or in health—he shrank from no labour or fatigue. Although his constitution was wearing away, his high sense of duty foreclosed from his view approaching danger; or, if he beheld it, it appeared to him trivial in comparison with what he considered the obligations of conscience. He never tasted the bread of idleness; nor would he have touched the emoluments of office if unable to perform his duties. But he sank under this too zealous attention to rigid duty, at an age not greatly advanced, and when by a little indulgence — surely most justifiable—he might yet have been spared to his afflicted family."

The following sentences referring to his appearance and manners, and "domestic worth," may also be inserted :—

"The expression of his features was apparently austere: his outward manners were not marked with grace of softness. In conversation, his sentiments were delivered with blunt sincerity, and were sometimes supposed (by those who knew him not) to designate the character of harshness but his heart was replete with the finest

qualities which could adorn it—human, benevolent, and just. In his friendships he was ardent and sincere, and his acts of friendship were executed with peculiar delicacy and grace. . . . To his family his loss is irreparable. As a husband and father he was affectionate, mild, indulgent—the happiness of his family was the great object of his life. Domestic harmony reigned in his household. His mansion was the abode of hospitality. Long, very long, will his loss be mourned."

Even at this distance of time we can estimate the justness of that eulogy. Smith's accomplishment speaks for itself. Arriving in Pennsylvania almost an unknown stranger, he rapidly rose in the esteem of the colonists, and was given a first place in their midst. As a member of the Assembly, as a delegate to the Continental Congress, and as a judge first on the district and then on the Supreme bench, he fully justified their selection; and he left behind him a record of honourable service, and—what was an even grander accomplishment—a beloved memory. "Rise early, sit up late, and eat the bread of carefulness" was one of his sayings frequently quoted by Yeates. It is evident that it formed the rule of his own life. Three things are especially noteworthy in his dealings with other people—his fairness, his self-distrust, his deep sense of justice. * If he lacked in the gentler graces, surely there was much excuse for him. His life was a signal triumph in "the things which matter."

* Cf. *supra* pp. 103-4. An instance of his fairness which deserves mention is to be found in the report he made to the Assembly on the state of the frontier on 15th September, 1776. He refers to the services rendered by the militia, and proceeds:—"Although Colonel Martin and myself by differing in political sentiments (which but too often give rise to a lasting personal enmity), are not upon such friendly terms as I could wish, yet justice to his conduct requires me to declare that if it had not been for his patriotic exertions and indefatigable application, there had not by this time been an inhabitant in the whole county."

APPENDIX

A.—Dispute as to the Boundaries of Pennsylvania.

This dispute arose out of delay in settling the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and the acquiescence of that province in the erection of a fort by the Virginians at the forks of the river Ohio. For a time the French had possession of the Fort, when it was known as Fort Du Quesne; in 1758 after the expedition of General Forbes, it was renamed "Fort Pitt." For some years settlers came indiscriminately from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and no question of ownership was raised; but when the state of Pennsylvania erected Bedford County in 1771, and Westmorland county in 1773, the Virginians assumed that all territory west of Laurel Hill, and south of the rivers Kiskimetas, Allegheny, and Ohio, belonged to them; and proceeded to subdivide it into corresponding counties. To the annoyance of the Pennsylvanians a notice was posted on 1st January, 1774, by Captain Connolly, Commadant of the Militia of Pittsburgh (or Fort Pitt) stating that Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia purposed to erect a new county "on the Western Waters . . . . to include Pittsburgh" and commanding "all persons in the dependency to assemble themselves there as a militia." Secretary Shippen of the Province of Pennsylvania immediately put Captain Connolly under arrest, but released him on receiving a promise to appear and answer for his conduct before the Court of Westmorland on 28th March. The manner of that appearance, and the bitterness of the feeling between the two provinces, may be judged form the following letter sent by Smith to Shippen from Westmoreland Court on 7th April:—

Sir,

The present transactions at this place are so very extraordinary that I am perswaded you will be very much surprised at the relation of them, if anything that is absurd and unwarrantable which originates from Lord Dunmore can surprise you . . .

After Connolly was committed to gaol in the manner you have been informed, the Sheriff let him at large on his giving his word of honour to return at the Court. He did return indeed, and in such a manner as might have been expected from his preceeding conduct.. We heard when we came up to this Court, that he was mustering a large party to prevent the Court from sitting. We thought that there could not be any foundation for such a report; but at the same time we thought it prudent to order the Sheriff to raise as many men as he could collect, to prevent us from being insulted by a lawless set of men, acting under the colour of authority. The time was so short that but few collected on our side, and those few were ill armed: so that we found ourselves in a very disagreeable situation, when we received certain intelligence that Conolly was coming down with 200 men. When we found they were at hand, the Magistrates thought it prudent to adjourn the Court as it was near time. They soon after came down to the number of 150 or 180, with colours flying and their Captains, etc., had their swords drawn. The first thing that they did was to place centinels at the Court House door, and then Conolly sent a message that he would wait on the Magistrates, and communicate the reasons of his appearance. The Bench and Bar was then assembled in Mr Hanna's house, where we sent him

word we would hear him: he soon came down, and he read a paper which will be sent down to his Honour the Governor with the bearer of this; and then he read a duplicate of Ld. Dunmore to our Governor, together with the letter mentioned before.

The Court told him that they would soon return an answer to what he had said (they did not think it prudent to do it without consulting together and taking the opinion of the Bar). We soon agreed on the terms of the answer—it contains firmness with moderation; and so far as I am capable of judging, it was not possible to form one more free from exceptions in our present situation. One in any other form might have been the occasion of altercations, which might have produced under concessions or been attended with the most fatal consequences; for I have a reason to believe that the greatest part of them were wishing for some colourable reason to quarrel. The Bench purposed to deliver their answer in the Court House—however, in that particular they reckoned without their host, for they were refused admission. Conolly waited for them at the Court House door, when Mr Wilson at the request of the Court delivered it; and, after exchanging copies they departed more peaceably than might have been expected.

However, the consequences of such proceedings are too apparent to need being enumerated. The administration of Justice must be entirely at a stand, and indeed I cannot help thinking that this mob has collected for that purpose, as I am well assured that, amongst all of those who assembled, there was not one single man of any property; on the contrary, the greatest part of them were such as are obliged to hide themselves from their creditors or such as are under the necessity of taking shelter in this part of the country to escape the punishment due to their crimes—it seems Ld. Dunmore gave Conolly blank commissions, trusting to his prudence to fill them up by inserting the names of proper persons. Conolly, in order to be consistent with himself, bestowed one of those commissions on one Teagarden — an old fellow who has several times been committed for felony. I dont indeed know that he has been convicted, because he has always broken the gaol—once I think he was committed to Lancaster gaol and escaped. His character is so well known that those who are the strongest advocates for the present disturbances are ashamed of his being appointed one of their Captains.

The people in this part of the country, who would wish to enjoy the benefits of society and would submit to any form of government, are in the most disagreeable situation that can be imagined. Their property, their Liberty, and their lives are at the mercy of a lawless, desperate banditti! In such a situation they look for, and have the utmost reason to expect, the protection of that Government under which they have settled. What is the most proper method to be taken, it would be presumption in me to suggest. There are but two ways. The one—to agree on a temporary line of jurisdiction until the matter can be finally settled. The other—to establish a sufficient garrison at Fort Pitt to withstand the rabble who act under Lord Dunmore's commission. It would have been a happy thing for this part of the country if this last measure had met with success when it was first recommended to the Legislation; and, indeed, sensible people in this part of the country, who are well affected to this Government, cannot help drawing conclusions from the opposition which that measure met with, which I am perswaded could never be the motions of those who may have made the opposition to it.

The conduct of Ld. Dunmore is really the most extraordinary, in the light in which the people in this part of the country are obliged to view and feel it, that can be imagined—to establish the jurisdiction of a different province over the people, who have purchased, and settled, and lived for a considerable space of time, peaceably under this. To establish this Jurisdiction by a military force is such an absurd measure, that I believe it will be difficult to suppose any man in his senses would have adopted it.

I hope you will excuse this incoherent scrawl, when I inform you that it is wrote in a small room amidst the clamour and confusion of a number of people. If you think the contents of it are of consequence enough to be communicated to his Honour the Governor, I will request you to do it, if not, you will please excuse this impertinence of, Sir,

Your much obliged and most humble servant
THOMAS SMITH.

(Life, pp. 50-55).

The boundary of Virginia remained a vexed question for many a day, and gave pause and anxiety to more minds than Smith's. A line, known as the Mason and Dixon Line, had been roughly drawn between the two provinces: but its latitude was indeterminate. The Virginians were unwilling to concede the claims of the Pennsylvanians, and outrages continued. The matter was only settled in 1780, when the Virginia Boundary Commission reported to the Assembly of Pennsylvania "what finally became the solution of that much vexed question—the extension of Mason and Dixon's line to a meridian at the end of five degrees from the Delaware (the present boundary)."

(Life, p. 129).

B.—Indian Aggressions.

Smith's suggestions for the curbing of these are contained in a letter to Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania, under date 22nd February, 1780. It throws light on the dangerous conditions under which early settlers lived, and the difficulties which had to be faced in overcoming them. He writes:—

"If public conduct misrepresented, and intentions misunderstood, were sufficient reasons for me to be silent in all public affairs, I should long ago have declined all share in them: but circumstances often occur when it would be criminal to be silent or neuter. If any 'misrepresentation' of mine can be the means of saving the life of the meanest citizen, I shall think myself amply paid for more undeserved obloquy than I ever met with.

"My anxiety for the safety of the frontier (my having been witness to so many scenes of distress that thousands of families have had to struggle with for two years past) will, I hope, plead my excuse for taking this liberty.

"Your Excellency need not be informed that retaliation is a fundamental law among the Indians, and seems to take the place of self-preservation. They have been severely chastized last summer, and the miseries they will undergo this winter in consequence of it will render them desperate; and they will certainly make their

last effort, as soon as the season will permit, or at least they will pay us in kind. The people on the frontiers have been so much harassed for these several years past, that they can make but very feeble resistance. Many of them fled into interior counties, and rented places, which rendered those who remain the weaker. Without speedy assistance they cannot possibly stand it, but must abandon their settlement on the first invasion.

"It would undoubtedly be deemed presumption in me to give my opinion on the mode of defence. I am sensible that I am a very incompetent judge. Five companies were raised last year for that purpose; but tho' I believe the officers, who were appointed to command them, did everything in their power, yet they did not seem to afford so much protection to the inhabitants as could have been wished. And this, I doubt [not], will generally be the case with temporary troops. Most of the mischief will be done before they can be ready for the field, and the expense is certainly more than an equal number of permanent soldiers. To call out Militia against Indians is liable to equal inconveniences. Not one half are fit for that service; and they are scarcely arrived at the place where the service is to be performed before their time is expired—putting out of the question the expense, and inconvenience we have already experienced to result from calling out farmers from their farms.

"I believe that, at this time, no money will procure a sufficient number of men for the defence of the frontiers even for a season. Pardon me, therefore, if I suggest that if the legislation was to offer a bounty in land to such as would engage during the war for the defence of the frontiers against the Indians—and to be employed in that service only, and its faith pledged that they should not be called away on any pretence whatever, and a certain portion of clothing given them—I think that something like this would be more effectual than any other plan that occurs to me. For there are many young fellows who are complete woodsmen, and who are eager to engage against the Indians, if they had any security of such reward at the end of the war. They are perhaps fitter for that service than veteran troops—capable to take the Indians in their own way; but they cannot for a considerable time be brought to like the regular service, nor will they engage without they have the most explicit assurance that they shall be employed only against the Indians.

On every occasion that I have ever applyed to your Excellency, I have always found you so ready to do everything in your power to defend us from our savage foe that I need not urge you on this occasion. It is sufficient for me to suggest the necessity for speedy exertions. I rest firmly assured that nothing will be left undone for the protection of those who stand so much in need of it. I wish it was in their power to co-operate effectually with the assistance that may be sent to them from the interior parts of the country — their own exertions must be feeble through want of provisions. I am really afraid of famine on the frontiers before harvest. The hard winter has added to the scarcity that was the natural consequence of their being invaded every seed-time and harvest for years past." (Life, pp.127-9).

C.—Instructions of Assembly of Pennsylvania to their Delegates to Congress, 23rd December, 1780.

Confiding in your integrity, ability, and attachment to the cause and interests of the united states, we have appointed you to represent this commonwealth in Congress.

The trust reposed in delegates to Congress is at all times important: at this juncture it is peculiarly so. We cannot, nor do we wish to, direct your deliberations and your votes in every question that may come before you. We trust in your patriotism and good sense, that you will deliberate and vote in a manner which will entitle you to the approbation, the support, and the gratitude of your constituents.

The following subjects are, however, of more than ordinary magnitude, on which we think it necessary to give you our sentiments:—

First:—You will do everything in your power to retrieve the finances of the united states from the disorder into which they have unfortunately fallen. As one means of accomplishing this desirable end, we recommend to you earnestly to promote frugality and economy in the public expenditures, to urge the reduction of all unnecessary offices and officers, and to ascertain with accuracy the pay, salaries, and other allowances of officers necessarily employed.

Second:—The western or late crown lands are an object which deserves particular attention: we apprehend that the property of those lands is devolved to the united states. If a proper use is made of them they may be productive of ample funds for carrying on the present just and necessary war, and consequently for alleviating the burthens of this and the other confederated states.

Third:—The state of *Connecticut* still persists in her claim to a very considerable part of *Pennsylvania*, and has hitherto refused to comply with the very just and equitable proposals made on the part of this commonwealth for finally determining the controversy between the two states. You will carefully watch and strenuously oppose every attempt that may [be] made to injure your constituents on this subject; and you will endeavour by all proper means, to bring it to an amicable accomodation, or to a legal decision.

Fourth:—Before you vote for the appointment of any officer, you will enquire into his character and his fitness for the office for which he may be named. You will choose with impartiality and without favour; You will reject with candor and without prejudice.

Fifth:—Before you vote for the removal of any officer, you will maturely weigh his conduct in office; you will consider the necessity or the evident propriety of removing him; And when you vote to remove, you will afford no room for suspicion that your vote has been dictated by an unsteadiness of politics, an unworthy influence, or a desire to open a door for the introduction of a favorite successor.

Last:—Imports on trade appear to us absolutely necessary at this time. But as such imports should be generally established in order to prevent any state from taking advantage of a neighbour, we instruct you to urge Congress to recommend to the several states in union such a system of imports as may, without injury to commerce, produce a certain and beneficial revenue."

D.—Commission as President Judge of Fourth Judicicial District of Pennsylvania.

"In the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin Esq., Governor of the said Commonwealth to Thomas Smith, Esq:—

Know you that, having especial confidence in your integrity, judgment, and abilities, I the said Thomas Mifflin, Have appointed, and by these presents I Do appoint and commission you, the said Thomas Smith, to be the President of the several courts of Common Plea in the Circuit consisting of the Counties of Cumberland, Fanklin, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Mifflin, Hereby giving and granting unto you full right and title to have and execute all and singular the powers, jurisdiction, and authorities, and to have and enjoy all and singular the emoluments to the President of the said several Courts of Common Pleas in the Circuit aforesaid, lawfully belonging or in anywise appertaining by virtue of the Constitution and Laws of the Commonwealth, To have and to hold this Commission and the Office hereby granted unto you, the said Thomas Smith, so long as you shall behave yourself well.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State at Philadelphia this twentieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety one and of the Commonwealth the Sixteenth.

By the Governor
A. J. Dallas,
Secretary.

The commission is preserved among the De Renne Papers. On the back the various recorders vouch for its being recorded as follows:—At Carlisle on Sept. 1, 1791: at Huntingdon, Sept. 5: at Chambersburg, Sept. 13: at Bedford, Oct. 12: and at Lewistown, Dec. 12. The Seal has on the reverse side the famous "Both Can't Survive" emblem.

E.—Commission as Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

In the name and by the Authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin Governor of the said Commonwealth to Thomas Smith Esq.:—

Reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, prudence, integrity, justice, and abilities, Know you that I have appointed and assigned you One of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to hold Supreme Courts, to issue writs of Habeas Corpus, Certiorari, and writs of Error and all and other writs and Process returnable in the said Court and by law directed; and to try all issues joined, or to be joined, in the said supreme court; and to do generally all those things that are or may be necessary for the trial of any issue; and in the said Supreme Court to hear and determine all causes, matters, and things cognizable in the said Court, and also to hear and determine . . . all manner of pleas, plaints, . . . removed or brought there from the respective General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Courts of Common Pleas to be held for the respective . . . . or from any court of this State by virtue of the said writs; And to examine and correct . . . all manner of errors . . . . pending and proceeding

in the said Courts as well in all . . . . of the State . . . . ; and there upon to reverse or affirm the said judgements as the law doth or shall direct, and also . . . . correct and punish . . . . favors, corruptions, and defaults of all or any of the said Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Councillors, and other Officers within . . . . . any city, borough, or place within the said Commonwealth and to award process for . . . . . into the said Supreme Court, as of the fines, forfeitures, and amerciaments which shall be taxed . . . . . and not paid . . . . . appropriated to; And generally to minister justice to all persons, and to exact the . . . . . according to law; and also to exercise the powers of a Court of Chancery . . . . . the state and the care of the persons and the Estates of those who are . . . . . and also all such others powers as . . . . . justices of the said Supreme Court; To have hold, excercise and enjoy all and singular the powers, authorities and . . . . . as you shall behave youself well. In testimony whereof I have subscribed these Letters . . . . . patent and the Seal of . . . . affixed.

Witness Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at Philaldelphia the thirtyfirst day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety four and of the Commonwealth the Eighteenth.

James Trimble, Deputy Secretary.

The above is copied from a half tone photograph of the original much reduced. Hence the blanks, as a dark crease runs across it, and the beginning of certain lines are obscured by the Seals. It was written on the conventional parchment by James Trimble, Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth. "He did it," writes Konkle, "in the most gorgeous style of his quill, and tied to it with a gay pink ribbon, the seals stamped on two paper stars, near which, on the upper left hand side, the Governor signed in large letters: 'Thos Mifflin.' Mr Trimble then countersigned it below, and sent it over to the Enrollment Office, where on Feb 3rd it was recorded."

F.—Inscription on Tombstone.

Thomas Smith
One of the Judges of the Supreme Court
of Pennsylvania
rests beneath this marble.
He sustained various public Offices
with ability and fidelity.
His integrity was inviolable.
An affectionate husband and father.
In his friendships benevolent and sincere
He conscientiously discharged his public duties
until the last day of his life,
with unremitting industry and zeal,
and died 31st March, 1809.
Aged 64 years.

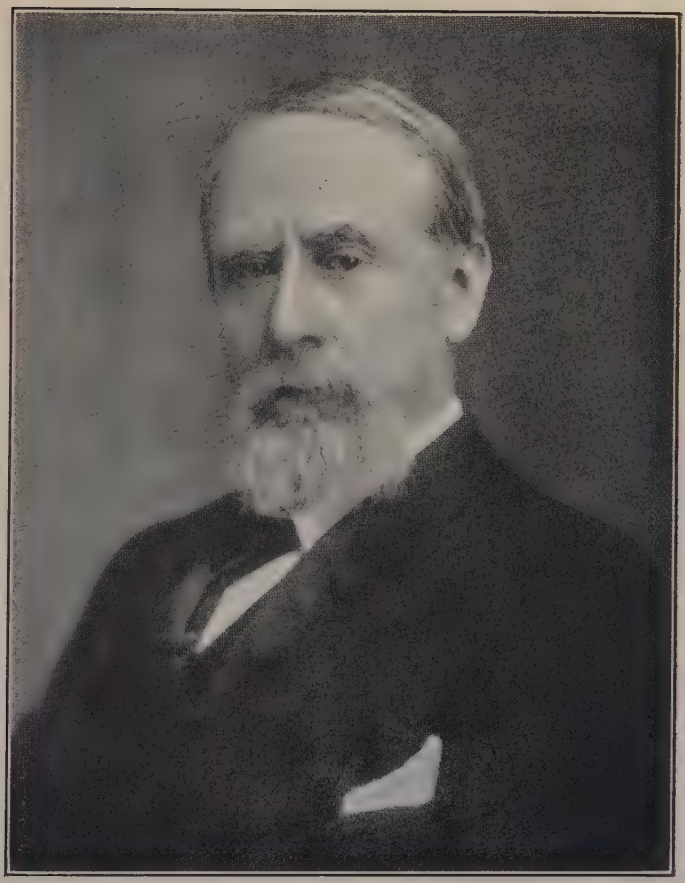
Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid.

"The career of the late Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid. . . is an inspiration to this and succeding generations. His life was a record of achievement which, in its own sphere, has been rarely equalled, and still more rarely excelled. Born with the apparent handicap of poverty and privation, compelled to begin work at the age of eight at a wage of three half-pence per week, he yet succeeded by indomitable pluck, resolution, and integrity, in making for himself a great and honoured name."

Stockton and Thornaby Herald, 11*th November*, 1911.

"Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid is essentially a self-made man who follows Emerson's advice—'Grudge no office thou canst render.' Concentration of purpose combined with a personal magnetism such as is the possession of few, has enabled him many a time to inspire those whom he seeks to aid with that magic spark of ambition which has fired them into making the requisite efforts on their own behalf. On one occasion when presiding over a conference in Rome at which nearly twenty different languages had been spoken, some one expressed surprise at his being able to impress people who did not understand his words. There came from the audience emphatic response, 'It is the contagion of enthusiasm'."

Middlesex—Biographical and Pictorial.



SIR HUGH GILZEAN-REID.

Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid.

"No country has a more notable roll of self-made men than Scotland, and it may be claimed that with no county can a larger share of them be associated than with Aberdeenshire." * So said Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid in his opening address to the Debating and Literary Societies of the University of Aberdeen on 22nd October, 1909; and it may fairly be claimed that no better illustration of that statement could be found, than the story of his own life.

Birth and Parentage.

He was born at Thatchhill Croft in Cruden on 11th August, 1836. † It is to-day a humble home—a modest cottage consisting of a "but" and a "ben" with attic bedrooms above: then it was even humbler—the thatched portion of the steading, which forms the byre, being at that time the dwelling-house. Yet in this cottage his father and mother spent the happy years of their early married life, and reared in sturdy independence a family of 5 sons and 1 daughter. Hugh was the second son of the family. His father, also named Hugh, was an industrious worker, combining with the care of his small farm the trade of shoemaker; and he is still remembered as a kindly man whose integrity won him the respect of all his neighbours. His mother, Christian Gilzean, was the daughter of a land-steward, and a woman of remarkable attainments and character. Tradition has it that she was descended from a distant branch of the Boyd family (Earls of Kilmarnock), and through her Hugh could also claim a "dash of hereditary blue blood in his veins."‡ To her he certainly owed his finest traits—his natural eloquence in speech and his ever fresh and vivid enthusiasms. Writing of his early years he says, "The darkest recollection is of the hard conditions; the tenderest that of the glorified peasant mother to whose fostering and appreciative care I owe the start—the initiative and inspiring suggestion to go

* *Ethics of Getting on in Life.* (Edinburgh, 1910).

† "Hugh Reid at Thatchhill by his wife Christian Gellan had a son born Hugh. Witnesses to the baptism John Ligertwood and Alexander Ligertwood." Brothers were born as follows:—William, 22 June, 1838, George Will, 18 March, 1843, Robert Daniel, 18 May, 1849. (Register of Baptisms for Parish of Cruden).

‡ "*In the days of my Youth.*" (Article in M.A.P., 1901).

forward."* Both parents had migrated to Aberdeenshire early in life—his father from the upper reaches of Morayshire, and his mother from a valley in the "Black Isle."

The Disruption of 1843.

When Hugh was six years old an event transpired which shook Scotland from end to end, and which also had its influence on his infant fortunes. This was the Disruption of the Scottish Kirk. One party in the Church claimed full spiritual autonomy—the right to veto unacceptable presentees to parishes; and when the law-courts resisted this claim, the fat was in the fire. The result is now a matter of history. Cruden felt the full force of the struggle. The parish minister was then the Rev. Alexander Philip (ordained to the parish in the spring of the year following Sir Hugh's birth), and he espoused the "non-intrusion" cause. The Kingship of Christ in His Church was at stake, he declared; and rather than deny the convictions of his conscience, he went out with the seceding party—abandoning church, manse, and stipend. Such a sacrifice appealed to many hearts, and among those who sympathised with him and adhered to his teaching were Hugh's parents. His mother was an especially ardent supporter. She believed with her whole heart in the justice and right of the Free Church, and she lent her gifts in winning others to its membership. Indeed so sincere was her advocacy and so ready her utterance, that she addressed gatherings on its behalf, and was known as the "inspired peasant." Her own son has left on record the impressions of one meeting at which he was privileged to be present—one of his earliest recollections. "Still vividly do I remember," he writes, "standing by her side on an expansive hilltop, where vast numbers had assembled: she, standing in the midst with outstretched arms, imploring the eager listeners to 'come out from amongst them,' to stand firm in the protest against spiritual tyranny and prevailing Erastianism—a veritable leader whose inspiration and impassioned earnestness left a deep mark on me and on many others, never to be effaced."† When at last the Free Church was built in the village of Hatton, few families attended with greater regularity than the Reids; and doubtless the many little sacrifices made in the home, on behalf of their church, did much to teach the children lessons of

* "*In the Days of my Youth.*"

† "*Ibid.*" The meeting referred to was held on the farm of Stones, in a spot once marked by a Druidical circle.

helpfulness and faith which went far in later life to deepen and strengthen their characters. *

Education.

Nevertheless the first school which Hugh attended was not the Free Church School but the Episcopal. This was a geographical necessity. Thatchhill Croft lies in the south-east corner of the parish on the top of the cliffs that tower above the Scaurs of Cruden, and the village of Hatton where the Free Church and its school were planted are fully four miles inland. The Episcopal School, erected and endowed in 1836 through the energy of the Rev. Dr Pratt, lay exactly midway, and naturally absorbed all the younger children in the neighbourhood. As he grew bigger and stronger, however, loyalty to church asserted itself in the matter of education also; and the time came when his parents insisted that he should walk the four miles to and from the school at Hatton, excuses for absence on account of bad weather (and many a day he must have faced a bitter blast) seldom being allowed.

It was a stern experience, and still sterner was the discipline of the school. There was little sympathy for the poor or weak; and that his schooldays were anything but happy may be inferred from his own account. "It was indeed a bleak and barren land," he writes, "that north-east corner of Aberdeenshire, yclept Buchan, fifty years or more ago. We had a rough time of it at school, to which we wearily trudged several miles each day. The master was an ex-ploughman and he had a few favourites—sons and daughters of farmers who could invite him to spend the week-end with them. One luxury he had was to place a poor helpless child, who had given him some offence, on the floor, secure him there half-naked, and employ two of the strong lads to beat the hapless victim with willow wands. After school hours the weaker boys were often subjected to foul and ferocious horse-play. Even the girls did not escape. 'Why did you spit in your sister's face?' asked the dominie one day. And the reply was significant of the spirit that prevailed—'Cos she is a lassie.' "†

Still education was never neglected, as Sir Hugh himself admits. "We were taught reading and writing," he states, "with glimpses of Latin and English composition; and the hard time, it may be, fitted one for the harder, if higher, struggles that followed in life's battle."

* For several facts regarding Sir Hugh's early days, his parents, etc., I am indebted to Mr Wm. Anderson, Farmer, Stones, Cruden.

† "*In the Days of My Youth.*"

In his own case there can be no question that the most the school did for him was to open a vista into the world of knowledge and to inure him to the "hard time" which must be the fate of those who enter it. He came to be one of the best-read men and clearest thinkers, but his knowledge was mainly self-acquired, gained in leisure moments during years of adolescence after a hard day's toil; and his keenness to learn may be judged from the fact that when he subsequently went to the city, he endeavoured—both in Aberdeen and Edinburgh—to combine day and evening classes along with his other duties. Perhaps the hardships of the struggle were in themselves the best education. As he wrote many years later: "How difficult it is to realise the distant past with all its privations and trials, its dim hopes and ardent aspirations. Yet it was the foundation, the training—maybe the necessary schooling: as Hugh Miller, stone-mason, geologist, and journalist, summed up and designated the chapters of his own wonderful and brilliant career—'My Schools and Schoolmasters'!" *

Life's Battle—A Stern Beginning.

Stern necessity drove him at the age of eight to seek a "place" on a neighbouring farm; and, save for one brief term in 1849 when he returned to the school at Hatton, his school days were over. What a child of such tender years could have done to make himself useful it is difficult to realise; but doubtless there were many errands to run, and light tasks to perform, in which his services would be of real value. Nor indeed were they all light. "One of my duties," he tells us, "was to take part in turning a hand-thrashing machine (my mate usually was a wee brown Scotch lassie); and a toilsome, hand-blistering task it was." He earned at least his daily food—"oatmeal in various forms, boiled vegetables, and milk"—and thus saved the home larder. And he was actually paid a wage—one penny half-penny per week. He was prouder of this fee than of many princely sums paid to him in later life. Each Saturday afternoon he "returned to the humble home, ever radiant with affection, for the Sabbath Day's rest"; and there he made it his first duty, as it was his chief joy, to produce from his pocket the small parcel containing his weekly wage. He "sacredly handed" it to his mother, he tells us—"one who had learned by hard experience how to make the most of it."

* *"In the Days of my Youth."*

Saturday indeed was his great day, as that afternoon he was always sent to secure the one copy of the "Aberdeen Journal" which came into the district, and was then invited to read its contents aloud to a group of eager listeners, either by the ingle-neuk, or out on the green. He enjoyed these triumphs, and the conversations which ensued. "Amongst the listeners," he writes, "was a venerable pensioner who interspersed his own wild and wonderful adventures in what he designated the Pen-in-su-lar war, very much in the manner of Bil Adams' side-splitting yarns." And the listeners enjoyed Hugh's reading, and drew their own inferences regarding his future. Fifty years afterwards there was put into his hands a copy of a letter which had been sent by one of the farmers in the neighbourhood then, describing his impression of him to a friend. "There is a strange loon here," he wrote, "who reads big books and makes speeches. Take my word for it—he will turn out a Jamie Fleemin, or, it may be, a Dick Whittington, or a preacher, or a poet." *

Goes to Aberdeen.

For a time he seems to have taught in one of the country schools, † but as his mind expanded, and his knowledge of life grew, his eyes turned more and more to "the great city, with its sins and sorrows and hopes." He knew that if success in life was ever to attend him, it must be by his own efforts; and under no delusion as to the difficulties, he braced himself for the plunge. Speaking to the students of Aberdeen on the occasion already referred to, he said, "Help one may get, and counsel galore, but it will be found in the end that self-help is the surest; and that a man's destiny is to be worked out with his own strong right hand, in the spirit of self-reliance and brave endeavour." ‡ All unconsciously these principles were actuating him even then; and knowing that, so long as he remained in a rural district, his life must be circumscribed, he determined when he had turned 16 to set out for the city in search of fame and fortune. The story is best told in his own words:—

* "*In the Days of my Youth.*"

† I can get no confirmation of this save in an article signed 'St Osyth' in Abbey Road Baptist Magazine, London (Jan. 1899), where the statement is explicit:—"Knowing that mental equipment means power, he applied himself to study, and soon became a tutor in one of the village schools." The development, however, seems likely, and some of Sir Hugh's own statements would lead one to infer that he had had practical experience of teaching.

‡ "*Ethics of Getting-on in Life.*"

"One winter day, in the midst of a snowstorm, I walked to Aberdeen in quest of a situation accompanied by the one ever faithful friend and helper of these early years. It was a weary journey of many miles, and when the stage-coach passed us, she and I left the high-road, and hid out of sight behind an enormous snow-wreath which had drifted up beside a small plantation."*

Interest in Art.

Yet the city thus humbly entered by him welcomed him before the end with honour and glory. In Aberdeen he soon found a niche of usefulness. He began work in a famous art printing and publishing establishment—the successful applicant for a situation advertised in one of the local papers. The work entrusted to him was certainly not enlivening. He had to "give a sort of 'finishing touch' and to 'press' the beautiful elaborate plates of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* drawn by a member of the firm, and handed to him in batches from the printing office." † He confesses that he found his task tedious. But it had compensations. It awakened within him an interest in art which was a life-long joy. It brought him into touch with Mr S. C. Hall, the accomplished editor of the *Art Journal,* who invited him to contribute to its pages. It afforded him the warm friendship of a namesake, George Reid, who was employed in the same establishment, and "who even in those earliest years gave foretaste of the pawky humour, far-reaching genius, and intellectual dignity which in portraiture and as President of the Royal Scottish Academy, have made Sir George known and honoured throughout the world."‡ Best of all that experience yielded him his hobby of later life. He became a zealous collector of studies and sketches by eminent artists (many of them were gifts from the artists themselves); and in his last years, when sorrow had dimmed life's glory, he found his collection, he tells us, almost his "only real source of amusement and recreation." §

* *"In the Days of my Youth."*

† *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* by Dr John Stuart. Published by the Spalding Club.

‡ *"In the Days of my Youth."*

§ Time and again he lent his collection for exhibition purposes and for purposes of engraving. This hobby bore fruit too in the literary world, for one of his best efforts was "Studies and Sketches of Sir Edwin Landseer."

A Student.

But the art publishing office proved insufficient to absorb his energies, and he began to have serious thoughts of reading for a university degree and entering the ministry of the church. The bent of his mind was naturally serious; and both at this time, and later, he took an active interest in philanthropic and religious work. At the age of seventeen he became a member of John Street Baptist Church, Aberdeen; and about this time also he formed the intention of entering the Baptist ministry. * With this object in view therefore he addressed himself anew to study and attended lectures given by the Professors of the University of Aberdeen. He had no difficulty in doing so. As he has explained in his article on the "Days of my Youth" for the benefit of readers south of the border: "The Northern University differs essentially from its great English compeers. . . . . Accessible, cheap, learned, it welcomes alike the rich and the poor, giving practical equality of opportunity and instruction. I have seen the son of the laird and the son of a labourer on the estate sitting on the same form—one royal road to the worker with brains." He threw himself into the university atmosphere, and experienced to the full the rigours of a life of study under poverty-stricken conditions. Happily it had its bright and inspiring moments, and brought him kindly and generous companionships. † "Often did I share a room," he writes, "with four students who lived together, and slept in 'box-beds'—a kind of hole in the wall. Vigorous and healthy lads from the country, whose total expenditure only amounted to a few shillings a week—with the addition of oatcakes and other wholesome edibles

* Article on Sir Hugh entitled "*Some of our Nobles*" by "St. Osyth." See footnote, p. 139. "Already had he yielded his heart to Jesus Christ, and at 17 was immersed in John Street Chapel." I imagine that Reid was moved to become a Baptist largely through the friendships which he formed in John Street Church. See next note.

† Among the many friendships formed at that time none was more prized by him than that of James Macdonell, subsequently a journalist on the staff of the *Times*. Macdonell was born at Dyce; and educated at Inverness, Dufftown, and Rhynie. Early in 1858, at the age of 16, he went to Aberdeen as a clerk in Messrs Pirie's paper mills, and found in Reid (who was a few years his senior), a kindred mind and helpful friend. Macdonell who had been brought up a Roman Catholic turned Protestant, and attended the same church as Reid—John Street Baptist Chapel. Both youths seem to have owed much to its minister, the Rev. George S. Mee, "a man of remarkable ability and freshness of mind"; and one of the organisations of the church, viz. the Literary Society, was an especial joy to them. It was then a society full of life and vigour, and its kindly and intellectual atmosphere was to them the atmosphere of a home. A brilliant biography of Macdonell was written by Sir Wm. Robertson Nicoll and published in 1890. In it he makes free use of the letters which in after-life passed between Macdonell and Reid; and these, covering a lengthened period, show how each mentally prized the other's "steady, faithful, helpful friendship."—(*James Macdonell, Journalist*, by Sir W. R. Nicoll, page 68).

sent by the carrier from the lowly homes. Yet out of that room came men who made their mark in teaching, and preaching, and literature." But he never became a regular student. Probably his work hours in the art printing establishment made this impossible; though there seems every likelihood that he took advantage of the evening classes in connection with the Mechanic's Institution, where the professors occasionally lectured. *

Becomes Journalist.

Fate had other designs for him, however, than to make him a minister. † Shortly after coming to Aberdeen, he made the acquaintance of Mr William M'Combie, the editor of the "Aberdeen Free Press." Mr M'Combie was an interesting personality, not only distinguished as an editor, but also as a farmer and author, "one of the most remarkable men," wrote James Macdonell, "that Scotland has produced during this generation." ‡ On his invitation and under his guidance, Hugh unofficially joined the staff—"filling a modest place, in part business and in part paragraph writing"—and after a time he became a regular contributor. Mr M'Combie did more for

* His name does not appear in any of the Class Registers either of Aberdeen or Edinburgh University. Some notices of his life would lead one to imagine he was a regular student e.g. "When quite a young man he passed all the preliminary examinations with a view to entering the Non-Conformist ministry. When parting with his first Professor that gentleman said to him 'You intend to be a Baptist Minister?' 'Possibly,' was the brief reply. 'Then let me tell you,' were the Professor's parting words, 'you'll get more kicks than ha'pence.' The loss of the Church was the gain of the press." So the *N.E. Gazette* on 6th Nov., 1911, but I suspect that the whole story is apocryphal.

† To the end of his life, however, that early interest in the life and work of the Church, and that first ambition to be a minister, had their leavening effect upon him. Wherever he went he attached himself at the earliest possible moment to the Baptist church, of the district—at Aberdeen to the John St. Church (Cf. *supra* footnote p. 141) at Peterhead to the Baptist church there, at Middlesborough to Newport Road Chapel, and at Birmingham to Beach Lanes Chapel. In London he joined the membership of Abbey Road Baptist Church. Often he preached. While at Peterhead he used frequently to walk out to Longside to conduct services to members of the Baptist community there, and at Middlesborough he not infrequently occupied Non-conformist pulpits. "He was a preacher of eloquence and power, and his services in this capacity were greatly sought for." In October, 1899, he presided at the big gathering of London Baptists, promoted under the auspices of the London Association, in connection with the Twentieth Century Fund. When Beach Lanes Chapel was renovated in 1903 and reopened for worship on 23rd August of that year, he was the special preacher at the evening service. "As he rose to fame and honour he stood firm to the principles of his youth—Love to God and to his neighbour. In these days of shoddy gentility when the sons of the people turn their backs on the race from which they sprung, and seek an entrance into Society by way of the Established Church, . . . it is a joy to see such a man."—(Abbey Road Baptist Mag., Jan., 1899).

‡ See noble tribute to M'Combie's memory by Macdonell published in the *Spectator* and reproduced in his own *Life* by Sir W. R. Nicoll, p. 69.

him than give him work. He inspired him with a love for the press and a belief in its power. "Often it was my privilege," he writes, "to listen to this sage and high-minded counsellor, to sit at his feet and learn something of the higher ideals of life and journalism." * The result was that when, in 1855, Alexander Ramsay, the editor of the "Banffshire Journal," offered him a regular appointment on its staff, he resolved to accept it. Not without misgiving; for his heart was set on gaining a place in the ranks of scholarship, and never did he weigh more carefully the "pros" and "cons" of any situation. Dire need, and the increasing attractions of a journalistic life, settled it. "It was a sore disappointment," he writes, "to give up the classes and the fascinating prospect of completing the 'Varsity curriculum; but the favourable opportunity in the path I had determined to pursue could not wisely be missed, and I well remember writing these words to my good mother: 'I must leave Aberdeen and abandon any idea of the University, for this is a chance of making a beginning which cannot be missed. Perhaps some day the University may come to me'."† The decision proved the turning point of his life. Journalism finally claimed him. As a journalist he achieved world-wide reputation and fame.

Association with Northern Newspapers.

Under Alexander Ramsay's editorship, the *Banffshire Journal* was then coming steadily to the front (Ramsay ultimately became proprietor, and his services to journalism in the north earned him the degree of LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen); and Hugh found himself under the spell of a new mind. "To his practical and systematic drilling," he states, "any early success attained in the profession is largely attributable." ‡

But he did not remain long in Banff. In 1857 he was invited to undertake the editorship of the *Peterhead Sentinel*, a newspaper which local enterprise had originated in the previous year. He accepted the invitation. In a letter which he wrote to the Editor in 1906, conveying his congratulations on the Jubilee of the newspaper, he states: "I was chosen to edit the *Peterhead Sentinel* not long after it had been started. This was a real promotion, and as there was no one in the office with whom to advise, felt to be a serious responsibility. All the literary

* *"In the Days of my Youth."*
† *Ibid.* His hope was realized. See *infra.* p. 173.
‡ *Ibid.*

work had to be arranged for, or done by me—with occasional leaders contributed by Dr Jamieson, J. S. Anderson, John Smith, and others; and gradually I was left in absolute control, which necessitated constant attention, outlook, and effort—altogether a priceless training for the profession on which I had entered." He worked under an unsatisfactory proprietor, however, who failed to implement a promise to take him into partnership; and seeing no prospect of security, he accepted an appointment as editor of the *Edinburgh Weekly News,* at that time a fairly prosperous paper.

Edinburgh Co-operative Building Society.

In the capital he led a busy life during the next four years. In addition to editing the *News,* he practically edited also the tri-weekly *Scottish Press,* and took a deep interest in the public life of the City. On one question which was then (1861) agitating the public mind he took up a firm attitude. The stone-masons were at variance with their masters both regarding the length of their working day, and the method of payment for their labour. Mr Reid espoused the side of the workmen, and eventually gained for them the concession of a "nine hours' day and nine hours' pay." Edinburgh helped greatly to widen the circle of his acquaintance, and to develop his powers. As at Aberdeeen he took advantage of every educational facility which time and circumstances permitted—attending classes, lectures, etc. With one of the University Professors, John Stuart Blackie, he made a friendship which proved life-long. Blackie, if an indifferent teacher of Greek, was a seer and a thinker; and it was only natural that Mr Reid should add him to his list of "heroes." An old friend joined him in Edinburgh in the person of James Macdonell. Macdonell had obtained an engagement on the *Daily Review,* and their kindred interests as well as their north-country origin, threw them constantly together. In company they "went round the churches of the city." Among their favourite preachers were Dr Hanna, the biographer of Chalmers, then colleague to Dr Guthrie in St John's Free Church; and Dr Walter C. Smith, the poet, then minister of Roxburgh Free Church. Reid's interest in the social movements of the city also brought him into contact with Dr Begg, the famous Free Church Leader, and he introduced Macdonell. Macdonell set him down as "rather a hard, and not what you would call an amiable man; yet real, and outspoken, and strong, and very valuable to the world—altogether indeed, a true man." *

* *Life of James Macdonell,* pp. 84-6.

But those years in Edinburgh were marked especially by the service which he rendered the community in founding the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Society. This was a congenial task to which he set himself in 1861, along with a stalwart workman, James Colville. As the result of their efforts thousands of the working-men of Edinburgh have long been their own landlords.* The story of their success is so well told in the notice of Sir Hugh which appeared in "Middlesex Biographical and Pictorial," that one cannot do better than quote from it—

"The movement which produced this very desirable result arose out of a strike in the Edinburgh building trades which was the first struggle for reducing the hours of labour to nine per day. After three months the masters gave in, and agreed to the altered conditions. Mr Gilzean-Reid (as he then was) disinterestedly stood by the men, being then editor of a popular Edinburgh weekly, though not long out of his 'teens, and at the conclusion of the strike he pointed out to the men that conditions would have been much better for them if the money on which they had been living during the workless three months had been made productive. After much deliberation the Co-operative Building Society was formed. Twenty-five pounds only was at first subscribed. But feeling certain that success would follow, the pioneers stuck to their project, which was to carry on building especially with a view to accommodating all classes of workmen who were desirous of becoming the owners of their own homes, subscribers being specifically bound by the Articles of Association to promote 'the interests of the Company to the utmost of their power.'

"So quickly did the advantages of the scheme recommend themselves to the men that very soon £10,000 capital was subscribed; and, more money being required, a practically unlimited Deposit Fund was formed, whence loans were advanced to members. Excellent dwellings were provided in increasing numbers, profits of from eight to ten per cent. were received back by the members, on the usual Co-operation principle, all sharing alike; and it soon became evident that as a consequence of improved conditions, the workers became increasingly self-respecting, and that their lives were uplifted by far-reaching aims and ideals. The men gradually acquired the actual ownership of their houses by annual payments which did not exceed

* "20,000 persons are now enjoying the benefits of this class of residence, the property itself being now estimated as worth at least half a million sterling." *Edgbastonia*, July, 1892.

the ordinary rent paid for the decayed tenement hovels in which many had previously been housed.

"In a pamphlet from his own pen on the subject* the author expresses the opinion that the success of the Edinburgh Co-operative experiment justifies the belief that similar movements could be brought to fruition in all the larger centres of industrial activity—as in some cases has been successfully done—proving that co-operation could overcome the difficulties which had often defied the united wisdom and baffled the able efforts of social reformers, the principle having been established that houses embracing all the modern requirements of health and comfort, at once cheap and profitable as investments, can thus be expeditiously provided for the wage-earning classes.

"The gratitude felt for the pioneer of this movement was manifested in an interesting manner when in 1863 he left Edinburgh. Then the workmen of the city, under the presidency of the late Rev. Dr Begg, made him a public presentation 'in acknowledgment of his invaluable services in social, industrial, and Co-operative movements.' His memory is kept alive also by 'Reid Terrace,' as the first block of houses built by the Society was designated." † The Terrace referred to is picturesquely situated near Stockbridge.

"The Buchan Observer."

In 1863 he returned to Peterhead to start the *Buchan Observer* in conjunction with Mr John M'Arthur, the late venerable sub-editor of the *Scotsman*. As this was the first paper of which he became proprietor, it may be interesting to give the following account of its origin as described by Mr M'Arthur in an article contributed to its Jubilee number :—

"The starting of the *Observer* in the beginning of 1863 was really, in a sense, the result of a miscalculation, arising from what subsequently turned out to be an incomplete and therefore inaccurate forecast of probable events in the immediate future. Matters had not for a considerable time been going smoothly and prosperously with the existing local journal, and the cause was very patent, both inside and outside the establishment. The proprietor and publisher seemed to be obsessed with the idea that a newspaper, once set going, should run itself without any further attention, and so he would neither manage the business himself, nor expressly delegate the important

* *Every Man his own Landlord.*
† *Middlesex—Biographical and Pictorial.*

executive duties to another, even on partnership terms; and in these circumstances there was naturally very little heart in the work. The newspaper had therefore lost a good deal of its original 'go,' and was undeniably losing its grip on popular favour. While matters were in this unsatisfactory condition, negotiations of a tentative nature had been taking place between the writer and Mr H. G. Reid (subsequently Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid), a former editor of the existing local newspaper, and who was then in Edinburgh, regarding the starting of a second local weekly, to be conducted on certain suggested lines, the probabilities being, as far as could be judged at the time, that the new venture might have the entire field to itself at no very distant date. These negotiations eventually materialised, and resulted in a resolution by the 'conspirators' to make the plunge. The writer severed his connection with the existing newspaper, with which he had been associated from its birth; other preliminaries were quickly arranged; working stock was purchased and was being delivered—when the unexpected happened. The proprietor of the Jamaica Street organ, who had hitherto scouted the idea of a partnership with a view to more efficient and directly interested working, had evidently been rendered uncomfortable by the imminence of active opposition; and he suddenly resolved to get quit of all responsibility for the future by selling the whole concern, stock, lock, and barrel, to the then editor—a young but energetic and ambitious person, though physically infirm—and retiring from the field. This was a development which was unforeseen by the projectors of the *Observer*, or at least it was not seriously calculated upon. It created, it is needless to say, a serious additional risk to the situation. But the die had been cast, and forward unhesitatingly was our resolution, to push our venture with all the skill and all the energy we could command. Accordingly the first number of the *Buchan Observer* was launched from the little office in Queen Street on the 16th of January, 1863, and the stranger had quite a flattering reception from the local public, and also throughout the Buchan district."

His Marriage.

The "flattering reception" was but an earnest of better days to follow. Notwithstanding strenuous and, for a time, well directed opposition, the *Observer* quickly secured for itself a clientele of quite gratifying dimensions, and Mr Reid found himself for the first time

in a position of independence. He determined therefore to marry. In the late fifties his father and mother had emigrated to Canada and had taken their family with them. They sailed in the "Jane Boyd," a steamer which plied across the Atlantic from Aberdeen during the summer months; and the sheltering roof-tree of the home in Cruden being therefore deserted, Hugh was practically alone in the world. * But while editor of the *Sentinel,* he had become engaged to Miss Anne Craig, the eldest daughter of John Craig, Saddler in Peterhead, "one of the best and bravest of women," as he justly claimed; and now he invited her to share his home. On 12th June, 1863, they were married by the Rev. Robert Harvey Smith, M.A., minister of the Independent Church. † It was another of the decisive steps in his life, and one which meant everything to his future happiness. "She was a refined, intellectual, and highly cultivated woman; a good mother, an able and graceful writer, an eloquent platform speaker; and a true companion and helpmate to Sir Hugh in all his undertakings. Theirs was a most completely happy and congenial union." ‡

Goes South.

The six years previous to his marriage had been full and busy years; and the few pages in which their story has been outlined only indicate faintly the advances made by him in fortune and in the public estimation. In 1857, when he arrived at Peterhead, he had been in receipt of a weekly salary, and had no bank balance. Now he was proprietor of the newspaper which he edited; and his means were, if still far from opulent, at least comfortable. In 1857 he was simply a newspaper manager unknown to fame. Now he was a writer of known education and proved worth, and a man whose public services had already earned well-merited encomiums. Articles by him appeared in such leading journals as the *Fortnightly* and the *Westminster Review;* and he became a regular contributor to *The Glasgow Weekly News, The Phonetic Journal,* and *Tait's Magazine.* A restlessness was upon him, however, for he knew that

* Hugh thought seriously of emigrating with them — a new country offered attraction. But the little savings which he had managed to gather together all went towards paying the passage of the others, and he was forced to abandon the idea.

† In the Register, Reid is designed as Newspaper Editor residing at Maiden Street, Peterhead (age 27), and Miss Craig as spinster residing at Broad Street, Peterhead (age 21). Their respective parents are given as Hugh Reid, Farmer, and Christian Gilzean and John Craig, Saddler, and Margaret Scott. The witnesses were Peter Gibb and John Craig, Jr.

‡ *North Eastern Daily Gazette,* 6th Nov., 1911.

opportunities must be made—not waited upon—and Peterhead was a limited sphere where his maximum would soon be reached. After eighteen months of married happiness during which the circulation of his paper steadily increased, he began therefore to turn his eyes south. His friend Macdonell had already gone to London as assistant editor of the *Daily Telegraph,* and was urging him to seek a post in the Metropolis; * but a favourable opportunity presented itself in the North Riding of Yorkshire of acquiring the *Stockton and Middlesborough Gazette;* and accordingly he sold off his interest in the *Observer,* † and migrated to Middlesborough. Doubtless it was the remembrance of that removal which provoked the humour of the following passage in his lecture on *The Ethics of Getting-on in Life* :—"When Boswell called the attention of Johnson to the fine prospects from the hills around Edinburgh, the stern lexicographer declared that 'the best prospect a Scotchman ever saw was *the road south*'; and so true is it still this seeking to find a wider sphere of usefulness and a better salary across the borders, that if an earthquake

* It is interesting to find that Macdonell was as solicitous to help Reid as Reid had been instrumental in helping him. Macdonell had acted for a time as editor of the *Newcastle Daily Express;* and when it was sold to a new proprietor, under whom Macdonell found it impossible to work, Reid wrote on his behalf to Thornton Hall, then virtually editorial chief of the *Daily Telegraph.* He also gave him letters of introduction to Thomas Hughes, Frederick Harrison, and Grant-Duff. No sooner was Macdonell settled in his new post than he became anxious for his friend to join him. Indeed he was very unwilling at first to give his blessing to the "Middlesborough scheme," fearing Reid would be under the thumb of his employers. "You are not the man,'" he wrote, "to fill such a position; you would scorn, I know, to put your pen at the beck and call of a rural clique, composed of persons too ill-informed and too stupid to see what is morally straight. Therefore I conclude that your negotiations have been prefaced with the stipulation that you should be perfectly untrammelled, within certain limits at least, in the expression of your opinions. You may also have been exceptionally lucky in the kind of men you have to deal with. But, I confess, I fear and detest above most things that bigotry which, alike in politics and religion, accompanies isolation and want of culture." (Letter, 8th August, 1865). When Macdonell learned the actual arrangement he was quite relieved; though still inclined to think Middlesborough a "field too narrow." His letters to Reid at this period (as always), are delightful in their frankness and friendship. On Oct. 9th, he wrote Reid urging him to come up to London before settling down in his new sphere. "Come . . . and make me the merriest of men. Come, and we will have a week of lion-hunting and theatre-going; we shall dine at the Club, sup at Evan's, and not go home till morning; we shall go to see Jefferson act, and to hear Patti sing; and in a general way we shall cram as much enjoyment into the time as it will hold." In other letters he gives his opinions on political measures and personalities; asks his friend to express judgment on religious or philosophical conclusions; thanks him for a review, or kindly, but with candour, reviews an article by himself; chaffs him on becoming a "local magnate"—"May you be Mayor of Middlesborough in five years and member for it in ten!" (17 March, 1866); congratulates him on "an addition to the family," wishes Mrs Reid and the new baby "beatific health," and bemoans his own state as a "forlorn devil of a bachelor." These letters make delightful reading, and are a revelation both of Reid and Macdonell. (Nicoll's *Life of Macdonell,* esp. chap. VI.).

† He sold the *Observer* for £300 to Mr James Annand—another son of the soil, who, beginning life as a blacksmith, became M.P. for East Aberdeenshire. See *Life of James Annand* by J. L. M'Callum (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edin., 1908).

were one night to swallow up all Scotchmen, say, in London—or better, were they all to take return tickets—the wheels of industry and the seats of learning would stand still a great deal longer than twenty-four hours." * Certain it is that in Middlesborough he found exactly the opening he needed—an opportunity "for which his active and undaunted spirit and fertile brains were waiting."

Middlesborough.

When he arrived there, the town was in a transition stage—from being little more than a hamlet, it was gradually becoming the centre of the iron industry of the Cleveland district. In 1829 the site had been occupied by a solitary farmhouse surrounded by marshy land, but the extension thither of the Stockton and Darlington Railway (1830) and the discovery of iron ore in the adjoining Cleveland hills (1850) led to a very rapid growth. In 1831 the population merely numbered 154. In 1851 it had risen to 7631. The following decade witnessed even greater strides. The population advanced to 18,892, and the town was erected into a municipal borough. Mr Hugh Reid came to it four years later, believing fully in its future; and his faith was not misplaced. Before the end of the century its population was little short of 100,000. Its produce of pig-iron which in 1870 had amounted to 964,000 tons, exceeded 2,000,000 tons annually. To its other industries it added ship-building, boring salt, and export of coal. With the active life of the town Mr Reid was in fullest sympathy, and in certain of its enterprises he himself greatly helped. As the notice of his career which appeared in the *North Eastern Gazette* (6th November, 1911) states:—

"From the very outset he took the deepest personal interest in everything pertaining to the welfare of the young and rising town. He threw himself with ardour into many different local movements, particularly those relating to education. In the industrial affairs of Tees-side he also took the closest interest, and lost no opportunity of helping them forward by every means in his power. He developed an intense pride in Middlesborough; he believed in its future; and its fame, both as a town and as an industrial centre, was very dear to him."

* "*Ethics of Getting-on in Life.*"

"The North Eastern Gazette."

His real work for Middlesborough, however, was the founding of the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* from which the above quotation is taken. The *Stockton and Middlesborough Gazette,* which he had acquired, was a struggling weekly with a small circulation. Forging onwards, he soon developed it into a bi-weekly; and then in November, 1869, he did the unthinkable—he brought it out as a half-penny evening paper, and called it the *North Eastern Daily Gazette.* In this respect he proved the pioneer of a vast modern industry, for it was "the first existing complete half-penny 'daily' in the kingdom." "To us at the present time," writes the author of the appreciation of Sir Hugh Reid which appeared in *Edgbastonia* in July, 1892, "when large fortunes are accruing from similar ventures, the project scarcely conveys an impression of the wild chimera it then appeared to be, consequently the preposterous notion was at once scouted and ridiculed. But its success was its justification. In a short time the circulation had risen to almost 350,000 copies a week, and the proprietor found himself in receipt of a sure and handsome income." Perhaps indeed the founding of the *North Eastern Gazette* is his best claim to the remembrance of posterity: for the daring, the industry, and the genius demanded by such an enterprise are rarely to be found. It has been truly said:—"The story of the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* (which gradually became a signal and permanent success) reads like a romance—yielding in one generation, according to report, nearly a quarter of a million sterling." When he took it over, it was a "small weekly paper, with a press that, worked by four men and two boys, with girls for folding, produced some 450 copies per hour." Within a few years he introduced steam and the most modern web printing presses, * with the result that "the same paper was produced daily at the rate of 50,000 copies per hour, cutting them up and folding in one endless process." †

When he died, the *Gazette* thus summarised the story of his labours for it:—

"The *North Eastern Daily Gazette,* as it exists to-day with its high repute among all classes, and its great and growing circulation, is a splendid monument to his transcendant abilities, his high prin-

* The introduction of the first of these presses (the Marinoni Press) took place in 1884 and was the occasion of a social function at which Mr Reid received the hearty congratulations of his whole staff.

† *Middlesex Biographical and Pictorial.*

ciples, his unflagging energies, and his courageous enterprise. . . . . The *Gazette* was the first established among the existing halfpenny daily newspapers in this country. Its beginnings, like those of many other prosperous and flourishing ventures in this district, were humble; for its proprietor had to fight his way, inch by inch, among manifold discouragements. . . . . But to Sir Hugh obstacles were only made to be overcome. He gave joyous battle to them all, for his happiness lay in conquest; and one by one difficulties were removed and the newspaper fully launched upon its career of progress, usefulness, and prosperity . . . . Much as it owed to him as a man of business, it owed still more to his genius as a journalist. Under his able counsel and direction its policy has been sane, wise, and moderate. . . . . Though himself the sturdiest of Radicals, Sir Hugh was never doctrinaire or demagogue. He stood boldly at all times for reasoned progress, yet he was always anxious to deal justly and fairly with political opponents, and he never sought to exacerbate opinion. . . . . In this connection a remark made to the writer by a prominent and well-known gentleman, whose opinions by no means coincide with those of the *Gazette,* may be apropos. He said: I feel I owe a debt of gratitude to the *Gazette*. It has often said disagreeable things about me, but it has always said them in an agreeable way. . . . From the beginning, indeed every good cause has been warmly espoused and supported in its columns. In this respect the paper has reflected in a striking manner the qualities of the founder. . . . On the news side, too, the *Gazette,* under Sir Hugh's control, has been marked by conspicuous fairness, by the absence of cheap sensationalism, and by a desire to deal justly and equitably with every interest." *

The leader of that same date also deserves to be quoted. After recounting his early difficulties, it proceeds:—

"The creator of a successful newspaper which performs a most important part in the shaping of the thought and life of an industrial centre, does not at once obtain all the recognition he deserves. His products cannot be seen and weighed as are those which our mines and furnaces turn out. The outside world is prone to think, in spite of the vast wreckage which strews the domain of journalism, that all that one needs to do is to set up a printing press, collect news, distribute it, and wait till the public pennies or half-pennies fill the coffers. Young Hugh Gilzean-Reid, when he was drawn southward,

* *N.E. Daily Gazette,* 6th Nov. 1911.

as so many of his distinguished fellow Aberdeen students were, had learned by experience that something else is required to make a successful newspaper and a successful journalist. He possessed in an eminent degree all the needed qualities—faith in himself, courage, tact, persuasiveness, and adaptability; a true appreciation of the possibilities of a rising town; a keen insight into what interests people, a mind stored with general knowledge, ever alert to seize the latest thought and the latest contrivance that would help his work; generous impulses that led him to identify himself closely with all the great causes tending to the improvement of the life and status of the working classes; the ability to find what was good and enduring in the work of others and to use it to the best advantage; and the power of stimulating others to do their best, be it in business or in literary work. Thus was a great newspaper business built up." *

Domestic and Personal.

Perhaps those early years in Middlesborough were the happiest years of Mr Reid's life. They were years of struggle and adventure, but they were creative years—years in which he was amassing surely and swiftly fame and fortune. In his office he was supreme, a busy editor writing with a purpose, and daily adding to the circle who read his dicta with interest and enthusiasm. And in his home he had an able and kindly helpmate who sympathised with him alike in his joys and sorrows. No home was more replete with love and trust. At Peterhead a daughter had been born to them and named Maggie Christine, who, however, died in her seventeenth year. During the first six years at Middlesborough he rented a house in St. John's Terrace: and in this home were born Philip John, the eldest son (afterwards a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge) and Annie Gilzean (now Lady Tangye, wife of Sir H. Lincoln Tangye, Baronet). Another child, who died in infancy, was also born there. All the rest of the family, with the exception of the youngest, were born at West Newlands, Middlesborough, where he resided from 1872 to 1883—

* The *North Eastern Daily Gazette* continues in the possession of Sir Hugh's descendants. The control of the newspaper passed on his death into the able hands of Mr David Craig, of Stockton-on-Tees, Lady Reid's brother, under whose guidance its progressive prosperity has been well maintained. Several members of the family, to whom the newspaper instinct has been transmitted, are in constant touch with the production of the paper; and recently one of the third generation, Mr Hugh Reid Linehan (after serving in the army during the war), has joined the staff. In November, 1919, the *Gazette* celebrated its Golden Jubilee in an unostentatious, but practical manner, each of the employees receeiving a substantial gratuity in acknowledgment of his service.

Louise Caroline (wife of Judge Linehan, K.C., Dublin), Joseph Dodds (who is now residing in America), Ethel Mary (wife of Mr Maurice Slater, Four Oaks, Warwickshire), Millicent (wife of Colonel Bramhall, A.S.C.), Hugh Thompson (who was killed in the S. African War), Florence Aimée (wife of Mr J. M. Potter, J.P., Bradford), and Octable Turquet (wife of Major Dudley Leigh Aman, D.S.C., R.M.A.). The youngest of the family, Sibyl Muriel (now Mrs Victor Hodgson, Cuilcheanna, Onich, was born at Warley Abbey, Birmingham, where Sir Hugh made his home in 1883.

Little wonder that each of these homes had for him hallowed memories. Apart from the tender domestic associations which circled round them, they witnessed his advance to a proud position in the world's esteem. They saw indeed his *real* life, for his sojourn in the last closed with a domestic loss so tragic as to dim almost all the glory and joy of the years which followed. Warley Abbey was an especially beautiful abode. With its battlements and turrets, dating back perhaps to the days of the Friary of Halesowen, it had an old-world appearance which was very charming. It was set in the midst of an undulating park, surrounded by woods; and every device of nature and art were used by Mr Reid to add to its appearance—he made it, as some one has said, "a dream of beauty." Few scenes could be more enchanting than the view from the highest point of the grounds—the ancient house set in a wooded background, the terraced gardens originally designed by the poet Shenstone, the little lake in the hollow reflecting the light and shade of the surrounding foliage, far to the right the blue Clent hills faintly outlined, and on the left shimmering in the sunlight the roofs and spires of the city of Birmingham. In the spacious hall and dining-room of the mansion were shown to full advantage his wonderful collection of original sketches and paintings. Landseer, Leech, Stanfield, Birket Foster, Millais—these and other artists were all represented. In the study was an equally interesting collection which Mr Reid described as his "Portrait Gallery"—a remarkable group of signed portraits which had been given him by distinguished men with whom he was personally in touch. Crowned heads, presidents, and premiers, leading statesmen, and men of letters—all looked down from the walls. It was a home which to visit was to love, and which to visit once was to wish to visit again.

Life at Warley Abbey.

The circle round Mr Reid's hearth was equally alluring. "During the Warley Abbey period," writes a friend who was frequently a visitor, "Sir Hugh was at the top of his intellectual powers. As a journalist and politician he was much in the public eye, and Warley lent itself in a special manner to the big life which he then gathered around him. It became the meeting place of many great notabilities then domiciled in the Midland capital. Amongst those who became one of Reid's intimate friends was the late Joseph Chamberlain. Although they lost touch with one another politically from the date of the Liberal Party split in 1886, their close personal friendship continued to the end. Another of Reid's associates at this time was Richard Tangye, founder of the great Birmingham engineering firm, and head of the well-known Midland family.

"One can readily picture the conditions under which life at Warley Abbey at this epoch became memorable. A bright young family was growing up with varied and expanding interests, rejoicing in the lighter side of life, and ever ready to help in entertaining their father's more serious guests. The late Mrs Emily Crawford, Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*, has published her impressions of a visit to Warley. Next to the geniality of her host and hostess, she emphasised the unfailing attention of the young ladies, whom she described as 'dressed in white and ranging from the drawing-room to the schoolgirl stage.' *

"No account of the family at Warley Abbey would be complete, however, which failed to mention an interesting but unobtrusive personality moving about the grounds—Mrs Craig (or 'Granny' as she was called)—the aged mother of Lady Reid. Her sight had almost completely failed; but a bonnie fresh-complexioned old lady in a bonnet and shawl, she found her way about unaided, glad to receive and return a friendly greeting from everyone she met in her perambulations. Her homely manners, and kindly highland salutation, are well remembered by the frequenters of Warley in those days. At meal times, when the guests were assembling, it was always a touching interlude to see her led into the room by one of the children. She survived Lady Reid and went with the family to Dollis Hill in 1897. She died there two years afterwards and was interred in the little churchyard at Neasden.

* Mr and Mrs Reid entertained many interesting visitors at Warley Abbey, especially during the period of his political activity—Mr Gladstone, Lord Aberdeen, Professor Blackie, Harry Furness, Gordon Stables, and many others.

"The home itself was an abode of bright and happy life. Strongest amongst Reid's social attributes was his capacity for friendship. His wife had the same quality in even more intensified form. To the stranger making his entry for the first time into the home they offered themelves whole-heartedly, first seeking about for some common interest, and having found it, building upon it the foundation of a solid friendship. Sir Hugh was endowed with that most valuable of gifts—he was an excellent listener. Although brimful of conversational material himself, he heard with rapt attention everything that fell from the lips of his companion. His eye lighted up with appreciation at every newly expressed idea; he would grasp at it and illuminate it with instances from his own rich imagination, but never taking the lead from his companion, who was often bewildered that so much could be made of his modestly conceived utterances.

"His knowledge of men and affairs of the moment was boundless. He was either acquainted with, or knew a great deal about, all the celebrities who were in the forefront of public life at that time. Casual conversation could not turn upon an individuality without suggesting some pleasing anecdote worth remembering. One wondered how he acquired a knowledge of all these things and how he recollected them. Information seemed to come to him intuitively without having recourse to the ordinary methods of acquiring knowledge. For instance, he never thoroughly read the morning paper—he did little more than take a glance through it, and yet he knew everything that was in it. This quality served him in more than one respect. It gave him, as a journalist, a faculty for the speedy treatment of facts; and it enabled him at public gatherings to enliven the proceedings by unexpected personal allusions, based upon some trifling information just come to his knowledge. In his armchair after dinner he would sit for hours giving forth a never-ceasing flow of narrative, turning on the idiosyncrasies, aims, and policies of prominent men. It was the attribute which led to his being repeatedly referred to by London editors, especially when some unexpected death or other incident happened. Reid never failed to produce the desired 'half column'."

Journalism on a Giant Scale.

The press undoubtedly was his true sphere; and increasingly, as the years passed, he gave himself over to the task of making the newspaper a means of education and enlightenment. He founded numerous important journals, including the *Stockton Herald,* and in 1886 the

Northern Daily Telegraph at Blackburn. His energy was astonishing, and he threw his powers—with amazing fertility and freshness—into a number of important newspaper enterprises, not only in Yorkshire, but also in Lancashire, the Midlands, and London. On many boards his experience and capacity were also in great demand. At one time (1882) he was associated with Andrew Carnegie and others in a small syndicate which owned and ran nearly twenty daily and weekly papers in different parts of the country—these included the *London Echo*, the *Wolverhampton Daily* and *Weekly Express*, and the *Walsall Free Press*. The newspaper syndicate, however, did not last long. Various misunderstandings cropped up respecting the management of certain of their ventures; and, rather than risk the disastrous consequences which might have resulted from a want of unanimity in the directorate, the members dissolved partnership amicably "amidst an all-round shaking of hands."

Mr Reid himself has given a vivid account of the great developments in the newspaper world which were going on during that period. In an article on the subject, which he contributed in 1896 to a collection of papers on "The Civilisation of our Day," he writes:—

"Well within twenty-five years, the small sheet of four pages was uncomplainingly accepted by readers as adequate; and a circulation of twenty thousand per day or per week would have been considered large. The same newspapers now consist of six, eight, twelve, or sixteen, or in cases of weeklies of twenty-four or thirty pages, including forty to eighty columns of reading matter and advertisements, with a circulation of tens or hundreds of thousands, many of them reaching fifty to sixty thousand a day, and some even two hundred and fifty thousand to half a million; whilst some of the leading weeklies issue five hundred thousand or a million copies each. Proprietors who regarded an income of hundreds or thousands a year, as yielding a sufficient return on the capital invested, now count their revenue by tens of thousands."

It was not all plain-sailing, however. A revolution in the art of printing, so far as it concerned newspapers, was steadily being accomplished; for the telegraph, telephone, electricity, stereotyping, and the rotary machine had all accelerated the rate of production; and one had to be 'all ears and eyes' not to miss one's opportunities. How great the cost has been at which the growth and freedom of the press has been achieved, is brought out by a trite remark which Mr Reid makes in the same article:—"The press as well as the pulpit has its record of martyrs." Only his faith in its mission indeed

carried him through, and made the sacrifices which it called for possible. To him the press was what Thackeray claims for it in "Pendennis"—"The great engine that never sleeps." And for him one watchword alone was possible—Progress! Increased Progress!

"Where the vanguard camps to-day,
The rear shall rest to-morrow."

Aston Manor Election.

No one can run a successful newspaper and be indifferent to the political interests of the country; and from the time when he set up his first newspaper in Peterhead, Mr Reid had a definite political creed and clearly defined conceptions of a politician's duty. When he became editor of the *Buchan Observer* in 1863 he stated in the leading article of his first issue that he would endeavour "to have public business managed with cleanness and honesty, and to uphold Liberal principles to the best of his ability"; and from that position he never budged either on the platform or in the press. Throughout life he remained consistently—and in the best sense—the friend of the under-dog. It is not a matter of wonder therefore that pressure should have been brought to bear upon him to "stand for Parliament." So long as he remained at Middlesborough, he refused to consent—his energies were more than fully absorbed by the demands of his newspaper. But after his removal to Birmingham, he was in a position to delegate to others many of the duties to which he himself had attended; and when in 1885 the new Warwickshire constituency of Aston Manor was created, as the result of the Redistribution Act of the previous year, he allowed himself to be nominated as the Liberal Candidate. The country at the time was in a ferment over the position of affairs in Ireland. Some years prior to 1885 the Irish Nationalists had found a new leader in Charles Stewart Parnell; and as Mr Gladstone's government had refused their demand to reintroduce a bill thrown out by the House of Lords, which aimed at securing compensation to tenants who had been evicted by their landlords (the Compensation for Disturbance Bill), Parnell organised a deliberate and systematic plan to obstruct all business in the House of Commons until the Irish question should be settled. Evictions in Ireland went on as before; and a dreary and ghastly period ensued, culminating in the Phoenix Park Murders of 1882. Though Parnell, and the Irish Nationalist Party, as such, disowned all complicity with the murderers, yet their sympathies were naturally with the people who suffered under conditions which goaded

them to take these insensate measures of revenge. In June, 1885, the Liberal Government was defeated over the Budget proposals, and Mr Gladstone placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen. Lord Salisbury was summoned to form a Government, but found himself with an insufficient majority. In August therefore Parliament was prorogued, and an appeal made to the country. A keen fight followed. Though the trouble in Ireland had arisen under a Liberal administration, it was well known that its genesis was Conservative opposition, and each party did its best to cast all blame upon the other. Mr Reid's faith had never been shaken; and to the electors of Aston Manor he advocated the Liberal policy with conspicuous clearness and success. He had been selected as candidate in January; and before the election took place he addressed no less than 40 public meetings—"getting at the very hearts of the working classes, and gaining fresh adherents every day." In March Mr Robert Perk Yates, edge-tool manufacturer, of Lyndhurst, Gravelly Hill, was brought forward as his opponent on the nomination of the Conservative Association; and it was expected that Mr Yates' powerful local influence would give him a strong following. Great excitement therefore prevailed. In the neighbouring town of Birmingham it was even greater, as Birmingham had been assigned seven seats in place of its former three, and each seat was contested both by a Liberal and Conservative candidate. All doubts were at an end on the evening of 24th November, when the results of the poll were declared. Mr Reil was elected by a majority of 1153, having polled 4241 votes as against 3088 for Mr Yates. The Election had its humours. A poor female was charged at the Aston Police Court for smashing a window where Mr Reid's portrait was exhibited, and the Liberals complained bitterly that on the night preceding the election their opponents had stolen a march upon them by posting over their bills under cover of the darkness a placard bearing the advice—"Vote for Yates the local candidate." But "he laughs best who laughs last." No bones were broken, and Mr Reid was M.P. for Aston. In Birmingham the Liberal victory was even more signal. All the seven Liberal candidates, including Bright, Chamberlain, Broadhurst, and Powell Williams, were returned. As was truly said at a banquet, given by the Birmingham Reform Club to the eight newly elected members on the evening of 17th December, "Never had a district given a clearer mandate to the party of liberty and progress." Unfortunately for the Liberals, the elections over the rest of the country were less emphatic.

They secured 334 seats, and the Conservatives only 250; but the Irish Nationalists numbered 86, and it was evident therefore that without the goodwill of the Nationalists the power of the Liberals would be paralysed. Nevertheless the first vote gave them a majority of 79, and in February Mr Gladstone again took office.

M.P.

As a Member of Parliament Mr Reid won fresh laurels. Certain causes lay particularly near to his heart. To uplift the homes of the labourers, to relieve the hard terms under which women and children were employed, more particularly to remedy the appalling conditions of all "home" workers—these were the ideals which he set before him; and these were the themes which, much more than Ireland, lent eloquence to his appeals. On the subject of the crofters nevertheless he was emphatic,* and spoke from intimate knowledge gained during his boyhood's years. His "maiden speech in Parliament was a pathetic appeal on their behalf."† "Possessing very decided and progressive views, he sustained the reputation of being a sound and capable public man, even his opponents admitting that he discharged his duties with a diligence, thoughtfulness, and courtesy deserving of all commendation."‡

On the evening of Tuesday, 30th March, 1886, he seconded the motion moved in the House of Commons by Mr J. Henniker-Heaton (Conservative member for Canterbury), for the establishment of International Penny Postage.§ It was a subject with which Reid was thoroughly familiar. Early in the fifties, Elihu Burritt, familiarly known as "the learned blacksmith" (he could speak and write some thirty different languages) came to this country from America in order to advocate International Peace Arbitration and Ocean Penny Postage. He had made the world already familiar with his ideas through the paper which he edited, viz., "The Bond of Brotherhood"; and though Mr Reid was then still in his "teens" he had enlisted him as a disciple and contributor. The result was that, when Burritt visited Scotland, he invited Reid to accompany him, and to take part in his meetings.

* *Edgbastonia.*
† *Abbey Road Baptist Magazine*, Jan., 1899.
‡ *Middlesex Biographical and Pictorial.*
§ The motion was in these terms: "That in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Governments with a view to the establishment of an International Penny Postage System."

In his speech in the British House of Commons, Mr Reid made frank acknowledgment of his indebtedness and inspiration. "It must be admitted," he said "in respect to cheap Ocean Postage that the United States have taken the honourable place of pioneer. We cannot forget one distinguished American who rendered peculiar service—one who in his later years worthily represented his own country in the Midland Counties of England. I refer to Elihu Burritt—a name revered in this and in every other civilised country. So long ago as 1842 stimulated by the bold and brilliant example of our own Rowland Hill, he issued a pamphlet urging on our country and his own the unspeakable blessing of what he for the first time designated as Ocean Penny Postage. In that pamphlet, now in the British Museum, he expressed sentiments which in one form or another were repeated in his speeches when he subsequently visited this country, and addressed meetings in many of our towns and cities. He would set forth the simplicity of the proposal and the benefits sure to follow the adoption of the beneficent scheme, and say—these are his words, spoken in my hearing when as a youth I publicly supported the movement—'To thousands and tens of thousands of families in town, in village, and in hamlet, the dispensation of the penny post comes almost as gratuitously as the morning dew upon the flowers that breathe and blush in the windows.' . . . . At other times he would show how commerce would be promoted, and picture with touching pathos the white winged messengers coming over the quivering waters whispering words of love and good-will to millions knit together by common ties of brotherhood. To the far-reaching foresight, the nobleness of purpose and simple eloquence of Elihu Burritt we owe largely the consensus of opinion on Postal advancement which unquestionably exists in this country and other countries."

The main points in Mr Reid's speech were these:—(1) the proposal was not a new one. It was simply a natural deduction from the experience which the country had already had of *national* penny postage. "Even if there were at the outset some loss," he maintained, "the sacrifice would be made in a good and noble cause, and would not continue long." And he instanced the remarkable fact that when the penny postage was introduced first of all, the Postmaster General had prophesied disaster on the ground that, if the cost were to be met, it would need a yearly circulation of 416,000,000 letters instead of 170,000,000 (the figure at that date); whereas the

circulation had risen the previous year (1885) to 1,360,000,000. (2) The general rule could be safely trusted, viz.:—"Given a sufficiently numerous constituency and an article universally required, and with certainty the cheaper it is made the more it will be taken, and the greater will be the relative or cumulative profits." The advantage taken of the cheaper postage to the colonies proved this; and more was gained than cheapness, viz., a drawing together of the bonds of human interest. He quoted in support the comment of the *Times* on the morning after the concession was made:—"We have this day to announce a step which, simple and unpretending as it may seem, is really a greater move towards a complete unity of our independent Empire than the most splendid conquest or the largest annexation." (3) The movement had the "approval of all commercial classes in the United States." The real opposition was in "the British Post Office."

In closing he drew a pathetic picture of the many thousands who yearly emigrated from our shores and yet who ardently longed for news of home, and he appealed to Parliament to do something to bridge the distance—"something to foster business, to strengthen international friendship, and to bring consolation and brightness into many a lowly home in this land and other lands."

The motion, however, was lost. 127 voted for, and 258 against it—the speakers for the ministry all expressing approval of the principle, but the inexpediency of making it a measure at that moment, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had warned them that to pledge Parliament would seriously disturb the year's financial calculations. *

Defeat at Handsworth.

His Parliamentary career, however, was destined to be short-lived. As has been explained the security of the Liberal Government

* The subject, however, was not allowed to drop. The persistency of its advocates secured further reductions from time to time in the rates of postage to the colonies; and in 1899 they won a very great triumph. On Christmas day of that year Imperial penny postage came into operation—the most distant as well as the nearest portions of the British Empire could henceforth be reached by letter for the same cost. A silver penny was struck at the Royal mint in commemoration of the event, and to his great delight Sir Hugh was honoured by being presented with one of them. In March, 1907, a Conference was held in London of the Proprietors of all Magazines, etc., "to secure a reduction in the prohibitive rates of postage on publications transmitted to the Colonies," and he was made Chairman of a Committee appointed to take the matter up. The conference, it was estimated represented over a hundred millions.

depended on the Nationalist vote, and shortly after taking office Mr Gladstone, with a view to conciliating the Nationalists, issued a manifesto to the electors of his own constituency in which he stated that the purpose of the new government was "to examine carefully whether it is not practical to try some method of meeting the present case of Ireland, and ministering to its wants, more safe and more effectual . . . . than the method of separate and restrictive criminal legislation." On April 8th he followed this up by moving in the House of Commons for leave to introduce "a bill for the better government of Ireland." The result is now a matter of history. The first of the Home Rule bills for Ireland was tabled only to be fiercely criticised. Two features were especially obnoxious to the Irish—they were to have no representation at Westminster; yet without representation the Imperial Parliament still claimed the right to impose taxation. Even Liberals were aghast at certain of the proposals (the member for the Western Division of Birmingham, Mr Chamberlain, who had been President of the Board of Trade, withdrew from the Government). A big slide ensued; and when in a crowded House on June the 7th the vote was taken, it was found that the measure was supported only by 313 members, while 343 voted against it. Mr Gladstone therefore immediately dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The new election was pushed on and was completed by the middle of July. Home Rulers it was found numbered 275, and the opponents of the measure 393. Among the defeated candidates was the member for Aston. His opponent on this occasion was Mr George Kynoch, and backed by the powerful support of the now Liberal Unionist candidate for Western Birmingham, he turned Mr Reid's majority of 1153 into a minority of 780. Their votes were—Kynoch, 3495; Reid, 2715.*

Mr Reid, however, did not all at once desert the political field. He remained in close touch with his political associates, and did all that he possibly could to further the interests of his party. In November, 1888, he threw open his house and grounds for the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation which was held that year in Birmingham. On Tuesday, the 6th, a great reception (numbering some four or five hundred guests) was held at Warley Abbey in honour of the delegates of the Women's Federation; and that same

* Something of the gratitude of his former constituency may however be inferred from the fact that advantage was taken of a Liberal rally on 13th Dec., 1886, to present Mrs Reid and him with a handsome epergne and loving cup, and a cheque for 300 guineas to help to cover his election expenses. (See *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14th Dec., 1886).

evening Mr and Mrs Reid entertained a large and distinguished company to dinner. Among the many interesting visitors were Mr and Mrs Gladstone, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, Lord Spencer, The Marquis of Ripon, and Sir George Trevelyan. The demonstration indeed proved historic; and its success was due in no small measure to the forethought and organising powers of Mr and Mrs Reid.

In 1890 Sir Henry Wiggin intimated his intention to retire from the Handsworth Division of Staffordshire, and Mr Reid was adopted by the Handsworth Liberal Association as their candidate. He transferred therefore his electoral efforts to that Constituency and nursed it with great zeal during the "long" years that elapsed to 1892 when the next general election took place. Warley was just on the borders of the division, so that operations could be conducted from his own home, and many effective gatherings in furtherance of his candidature were held in the spacious rooms of the Abbey and in the park. Mrs Reid and the whole family entered into the struggle with a will, taking part according to age and opportunity. Unfortunately he was not successful. His opponent, Henry Meysey Thompson, afterwards Lord Knaresborough, was returned at the head of the poll. Defeated at Handsworth, he never turned his attention again towards Parliamentary life.

The Institute of Journalists.

Though politics mainly absorbed his attention during the period in which he sat as M.P. for Aston Manor, and the years in which he was nursing Handsworth, Mr Reid never lost touch with journalism and the welfare of the members of the "fourth estate" was always present to his mind. A firm believer in the value of co-operation, he early perceived the advantages which might result to those who wielded the pen by some kind of formal union; and when leisure at last was granted him, he devised the idea of an Institute of Journalists open to all members of the profession. Though others gave valuable aid, he really ranks as the chief founder—he devoted nearly three years to the pioneering, and spent on it some thousands of pounds.* In 1890 it was incorporated by Royal Charter, and he was appointed

* "His services to the Institute were fittingly recognised by the members in 1891 when his portrait cleverly executed by W. R. Symonds was presented to him by Sir Algernon Borthwick, the President for that year, in the presence of an enthusiastic gathering." (*Edgbastonia*, July, 1892).

the first President—he remained a Fellow for life. The aims and ideals which governed the Institute are best explained in his own words, in the speech which he delivered in 1904 at the opening of the World's Press Parliament:—

"By means of the Institute and its Royal Charter of Incorporation," he said, "we have secured for journalists a definite and legal professional status and position, identical with the other learned professions—law, medicine, and art, which long ago had secured their rightful recognition. When we had made it clear that the promoters fairly represented the profession, we secured from the Government and the Sovereign a charter which gives us powers akin to those conferred on our ancient British Universities, and also possessed by the great seats of learning in America. It is provided by the Charter that we can create a scheme of education and training for journalists, and fix a reasonable standard of admission to the profession; and we have also power to grant degrees or diplomas of merit. Our Charter contains a provision which was never before granted by the authorities of Great Britain—it enables us to embrace in our membership English journalists settled in our Colonies and British journalists pursuing their vocation in foreign countries. This is not only calculated to confer enormous benefit on members scattered over the world, particularly in our colonies, but it has formally linked us together and it provides each journalist with a card of membership and identification, which opens to him a door wherever he may wander. This privilege has been authoritatively acknowledged by leading statesmen as unique, and highly creditable to the promoters. A late Prime Minister—my friend and leader, Lord Rosebery—uttered on one occasion these memorable words:—'Whilst we politicians have been talking Imperialism into the air, you journalists have gone and done it.'

"We hold our annual sessions at different cities throughout England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; and some years ago we received a cordial invitation from your near neighbour Canada, to hold one of our conferences in that strong and progressive corner of the Empire. We look after other interests of members in the best forms of mutual help—our Institute has a Provident Fund for members, and a well endowed Orphan Fund, which is already sufficient to provide for all very young sons and daughters of brothers and sisters who have fallen by the way. Indeed we have never yet had to decline an application. The membership of different grades

numbers between three and four thousand, and fully represents the literary elite of the profession, as well as the so-called 'working' elements; men and women members occupying equal position, the President and other officers elected annually by ballot—a real Republic of Letters, the Democracy of Journalism."

A natural development of the British Institute of Journalists was the International Press Congress which Mr Reid, along with leading continental and other journalists, assisted in "pioneering and founding." This congress, similar in many respects to its British prototype, met first in Belgium in 1894. Ten years later when Sir Hugh presided over the first World's Press Parliament he was able to state that the membership of the Congress exceeded 16,000, and represented almost every civilised country except U.S.A. The annual conferences were held in the chief cities of Europe.

His Social Gifts.

The annual gatherings in connection with the Institute of Journalists brought out one aspect of his character which all remarked, viz., his brilliant social gifts. On these occasions he was at his best. He shone. "One well remembers," writes a friend, "that merry twinkle of his eye, that mocking slap on the shoulder which so often accompanied his lapses into good-natured sarcasm. He would sit up till all hours at the headquarters of the conference enjoying the humour and anecdotes of his *convives*. He was well-acquainted with the rank and file of the then growing organisation—indeed he made it a special point to seek out the promising young men of the profession, and get into touch with their performance and prospects. Some well-known names of those who used to gather around on those occasions may be recalled—Sir Edward Lawson, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Sir Edward Russell (all three afterwards raised to the peerage); Tom Crosbie of Cork, Aaron Watson, Herbert Wright, and Sam Grogan (all of London), etc., etc.

"'No rest till morn' was the motto. It could not be laid to the charge of the seniors of these days that they were the first to look at the clock. One recalls a famous occasion when in the small hours of the morning, after a night of genial intercourse, some one urged that it was time to sing 'Auld Lang Syne' and to retire. 'You will arouse the sleepers in the hotel,' came promptly from a cautious member of the gathering. The majority insisted on winding up the evening in the time-honoured fashion; and the difficulty was overcome

by singing it in a whisper, the whole company joining with weird effect. It was quite satisfying to the exuberant spirits present, and it may be positively stated that no disturbing noise reached the apartments of those who were lost in slumber! Reid frequently told the story of that famous night.

"The second conference of the Institute was held in Dublin in 1891. Sir Algernon Borthwick, the second President, was prevented at the last moment from attending; and Reid, who was then travelling in Switzerland, hurried home to take his place. As Ireland was in the bitterest phase of the Parnell split at the time he had much misgiving in undertaking the enterprise. He crossed over to Dublin with Mrs Reid and one of his daughters, and was soon lost in enthusiasm over the varied programme arranged by the pressmen across the water and their friends. He always put it forward as a proof that the Irish could, even at times of bitter strife, sink their differences and loyally co-operate in a movement for the good of all. The conference at Dublin marked a distinct advance upon its predecessors, bringing all the learned professions and arts and sciences into association with journalism, a characteristic which was afterwards well sustained in the development of the Institute."

An Appreciation and Criticism.

Emphatically Hugh Gilzean Reid was a journalist of the first rank—keenly interested in his profession, and keenly alive to its needs. In this lay the secret of his success and the secret of his power over others. In an interesting description of him which appeared in the Jubilee number of the *Buchan Observer*, we see at once why so many organisations rose naturally and spontaneously under his spell. "One evening," says the writer, "when the Institute held a meeting in Edinburgh, I received an invitation from Sir Hugh Reid to join the revels, and have a quiet talk with himself. I obeyed the summons, and found him full of an old-world courtesy, and brimming over with many quaint reminiscences, which he appeared to cherish with a miser's care, as if they meant more to him than his knighthood. With a half-humorous twinkle in his eye he related his experiences in founding the *Observer*. In expressive doric he told me that between publications he went to and fro and up and down the county, like a certain objectionable character in Scripture, seeking, not exactly whom he might devour, but subscribers and advertisers for the paper. 'And,' said he, after a thoughtful pause, 'there was nae ither wye

the thing could be daen.' While he was talking, I was trying to account for the conspicuous social position he had won, and could not do it. He gave no hint of the literary man in his conversation; and it was not until he ascended the platform and began to talk to the pressmen, that I dimly began to understand why the honour of knighthood had been conferred upon him. Newspaper men speak of a 'nose for news,' but Sir Hugh had a nose for newspapers and newspaper men, which is a more important endowment. Though a stranger would not at once have discovered the fact, this man was a born organiser, and not only an organiser, but a man with the rare faculty of making men believe in themselves; and thus giving them power to do things which in the natural introspective distrust of their faculties, they would never have been able to accomplish. Sir Hugh was not a brilliant writer. He lacked imagination for that; but he possessed a faculty no whit less admirable, viz., that of inspiring confidence and self-reliance in the diffident man of parts wherever he found him; and to this day many a journalist holds his memory in esteem as one who succeeded in raising the profession to a higher standard than it had occupied before his time."

Literary Work.

The criticism made above, "Sir Hugh was not a brilliant writer—he lacked imagination for that," is quite just. From earliest days he had been writing—indeed his pen was never idle—and he has left behind him several essays, monographs, sketches, etc. His first publication was *The Songs and Poems of John Skinner,* for which he wrote a biographical introduction. Skinner was a hero after his own heart. He was the extruded Episcopal minister of Longside whose imprisonment for his faith had endeared him to the North. He was also a poet of real merit who had won the heart of Burns, and whose *Tullochgorum* has assured him of a lasting place in Scottish literature. His next effort was *The Story of Old Oscar,* which he published while still in his 'teens, and dedicated to Dr John Brown the author of *Rab and His Friends.* It is a true tale of animal life told with singular simplicity and with a charm of style and expression that won for it an immediate and favourable reception. An "edition de luxe," illustrated with etchings by Landseer and other artists, was inscribed to the Earl and Countess of Erroll "in remembrance of kindly interest in early days." Altogether the book has had a circulation of over half a million. Other sketches were *'Tween*

Gloaming and the Mirk, The Freebooters, Romance of the Manse, From Plough to Pulpit, By Pen and Pencil, Unaccredited Heroes, etc. — stories mainly centering around the scenes of his early life in Buchan, and showing "how high ideals and lofty aims are nurtured in many a lowly Scottish home by means of the heroic tales which are constantly repeated round humble hearths." Some of these were collected and issued in book form by Oliver and Boyd in 1908. For a series entitled *Talks with the People by Men of Mark* (an idea of his own) issued by the *Home Words* Publishing Office, he wrote a *Life of President Garfield.* A brilliant article which appeared in the press from his pen on the occasion of Disraeli's death was subsequently published as a separate monograph. Both "*Lives*" show "marked powers of portraiture and analysis"—with Garfield he had corresponded almost from boyhood's days. His interest in art also led him as already mentioned, to publish a series of sketches in *The Fireside entitled* "Art Studies from Landseer." The year before his death he published a brochure entitled *The Ethics of Getting on in Life,* an address delivered to the students of Aberdeen from which quotations have been freely made in the foregoing pages. All his work is good. The salient features are seized on; his style is trenchant, and he is never dull. Despite his journalistic celerity, he was a most cautious, and (when time and opportunity offered) even a laborious writer. "He would draft and re-draft an important sentence until it ultimately pleased him. Probably he made no improvement on the original phrase, which was the product of his natural fluency, but he would go on with his emendations until the result satisfied his own exacting criticism." But the busy life he led, and the interruptions to which his work was ever subject, had their crippling effect. He was unable (especially latterly) to become absorbed in a theme; and occasionally there are angular corners in sentences which distinctly jar. The real marvel, however, is that with so much else to engross him he found time for literary production at all, and that with a mind so keenly practical he should have combined such literary instinct and interest. He himself used to say that "turning out miles of leading articles, and taking a constant part in public life, left little leisure either for consecutive thinking or sustained writing."

Honours.

For his work in connection with the Institute of Journalists and other public services he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1893. It was not by any means the first public honour conferred upon him; but it was one which, as a national recognition of the work done by him, he deeply prized. In a self-revealing moment in the article, "*In the Days of my Youth,*" he tells us that the conferring of this honour was a "trying ordeal." "Having knelt before the Queen and kissed her hand, I was arising before the ceremony of striking twice with the sword had been completed. 'Don't be in haste!' she graciously said."

Other honours crowded upon him. Long a Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire, he became, soon after leaving Parliament, Deputy Lieutenant for the North Riding of Yorkshire. In 1898 he was elected President of the Society of Newspaper Proprietors and Managers. In 1899 he was created Knight Commander of the Order of the Crown, and in 1904 he was made a Magistrate for Middlesex. As we shall yet see, academic distinctions also awaited him. But he was not ambitious for honours, and accepted only those which he felt that he had earned, or which might increase his own usefulness. In 1890 he was privately offered the dignity of a Privy Councillor, but refused to accept nomination. In 1892 he refused a Baronetcy. Had he cared, he might have been a Viscount of Portugal, with a high ecclesiastical order; but this offer too he set aside.

One thing, however, ought to be stated. While careless of honours as such, he wore worthily the honours bestowed upon him—whatever his office he "magnified" it. Indeed no one was more careful about appearances, or more anxious that his conduct and carriage should be *sans peur et sans reproche*. "His literary work," writes a friend, "was nearly always done in the quietude of his room in the morning. When he came down to lunch he had prepared an elaborate toilet, and was dressed almost as if for a garden party. Never even in the most informal surroundings did he allow himself to fall into a negligé style of attire. He sat in his drawing-room or moved about the grounds in a frock coat, and when he went outside always wore a tall hat. In the grounds he latterly substituted for the tall hat a dainty black silk cap—the only compromise he made with informality. One would have picked him out in any gathering as a man of distinction. In wearing his orders and uniforms he was

scrupulously exact. He used to tell a story against himself of one occasion when, attending a levee in Deputy Lieutenant's uniform, he became conscious before entering the presence chamber that his sword was not in its proper place. He chose, as he thought, the best of all authorities to guide him, viz., a young subaltern in a Hussar uniform near by. 'Will you help me to put this right?' he pleaded. The youth turned away from him haughtily with the reply, 'I know nothing of civilians' swords'!"

Death of Lady Reid.

In 1895 the saddest of domestic sorrows smote his home. In that year Lady Reid died as the result of a carriage accident, and her death was not only a terrible blow to her husband and family, but was widely and deeply deplored. She had proved a woman of remarkable ability and power. She joined her husband in advancing every movement for the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. In particular she strove with voice and pen to uplift the condition of women. She wrote an able pamphlet on "Women Workers in the Liberal Cause," which had an extensive circulation (Mrs Gladstone wrote a preface for it); and she helped to found and became President of the Women's Liberal Association during a critical period in the history of the Liberal Party. On its behalf she addressed meetings in various parts of the country (on one occasion her audience numbered 2000), and she wrote innumerable articles in magazines and in the daily press. She never forgot, however, that a married woman's first duty was to her husband and children; and she was deeply attached to her homes both in Middlesborough and Birmingham. In the latter town, when Sir Hugh was presented with an illuminated address by the Birmingham Press Club, she was also honoured by being made the recipient of a silver card case and a copy of the Milton Shield in silver.

"Lady Reid's sympathy and co-operation in her husband's miscellaneous interests," writes a friend who knew her well, "was complete. While strength was still left to her she threw herself whole-heartedly into all his enterprises. Though never lacking enthusiasm for anything he had taken in hand, she had a womanly grace in toning down the vigorous tendencies of his spirit. At public meetings she was always at hand with timely suggestions which were readily accepted, while she exercised a general superintendence over his needs and movements in public. Her views on public and

domestic morality were severe; and she was unyielding when either one or the other was assailed. Her political opinions were well defined and firm. She was a staunch Liberal; and when occasion required it, she could make an excellent speech, a quality amongst women which was rarer in those days than it is now. For all that her conception of woman's part in public life was essentially womanly. She was proud of her role of helpmate to a great publicist who depended so much on her timely aid. She presided over the social life at Warley Abbey with simplicity and grace. For the large family circle she was a wonderful binding force, inculcating love of the home and at the same time enforcing the training that best fits young people for their voyage across 'life's tempestuous sea'." *

After his wife's death the skies for many a day were grey and sombre. Reid was completely shaken, and his family were bent down with sorrow. With the light of his home gone, he resolved to give up Warley; and he and his daughters went to Brussels, where they stayed for several months of the following summer. Another cruel blow descended three years later when his third son, Sgt. Hugh Stanley Thompson Reid, lost his life in the South African War where he was serving with the Light Horse. Sir Hugh sought relief in foreign travel. He delighted in such, and whenever the exigencies of his busy life permitted, he crossed to the continent. He travelled in Italy and paid many visits to Belgium, France, and other countries. But except on the rare occasions when he was ordered to go to a quiet spot for health reasons, he almost invariably went abroad with some

* No kindlier or juster appreciation of Lady Reid could be given than that conveyed in a letter of sympathy to Sir Hugh from Mrs Emily Crawford, the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*. She had stayed with the family at Warley, and had seen something of the "inwardness" of her influence. It is dated Paris, 10 November, 1895.

"I was more than grieved on reading in the *Daily News* that your admirable wife is no more a visible presence with you and yours. I have no doubt that her spiritual presence remains. Certainly her good and bountiful influence survives and will long survive. The teachings and example of Lady Reid must shape the lives of her children in many ways. To know her was to fall in love with truth, light, and goodness. Her judgment was unerring, and she had the clearest perception of the right thing with the firmness of character to do it. And with that no self-righteousness or want of indulgence for those less happily endowed than herself. Your children must always remember her with tenderness, and wish to conform to the example she gave them. You are more deeply to be condoled with than they. You and Lady Reid had struggled together, hoped together, succeeded together, rejoiced together (and with numerous friends), and lived in closest sympathy. You had the same tastes and aims. There never was a sweeter or more hospitable home than you both created. She was its soul. I shall never forget her sweet motherly presence, and her soft, brown, enquiring eye, that seemed to look out for the good points of her guest in order to find further ground for sympathy. One did not mind being sifted by that eye. One felt sure that if she found a good quality in one she would make the most of it."

definite object in view. Life and the human interests of people were his aim—not places. He was especially fond of Belgium, and resided there a good deal. He took a keen interest in King Leopold's scheme of colonial expansion, and personally did much to promote civilising and religious agencies in the Congo. For his services to Belgium he was made an officer of the Order of Leopold in 1897—an honour which he much prized as a mark of personal appreciation on the part of the King.

LL.D. of Aberdeen.

Even more, however, did he prize an honour which was conferred in the same year by the University of Aberdeen—the degree of LL.D. The hope expressed in boyish days in a letter to his mother had been realised—"The university had come to him." It seemed like a fulfilment of prophecy. The "capping" ceremony took place in the Mitchell Hall on 2nd April, 1897. In presenting him for the degree, Professor Dove Wilson, Dean of the Faculty of Law, said:—

"I have the honour to present to you, Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid, a native of our own country, and a student of the University, who first devoted himself to theological studies, but afterwards found, like Carlyle, that the true pulpit for him was the editor's seat in the newspaper office. He then devoted himself to journalism, and was connected with journals in all quarters of the country, and in every capacity. Connected with newspapers here, in Yorkshire, in Lancashire, in the Midlands, and in London, he has been with them in every capacity, but mainly as editor and founder. His merits in connection with journalism were recognised by his being the first president of the Institute of Journalists; and as a reward of public services rendered, he was honoured by Her Gracious Majesty. He was for some time also a Member of Parliament. He has resided much abroad, has devoted time to aiding the cause of Colonial expansion both in foreign countries and here: and he has devoted much time to the question of co-operation among the working classes. . . . . One of our foremost men, I have great pleasure in presenting him to you on behalf of the Senatus, as worthy of the degree of LL.D."

Some years afterwards (in 1909), a fine oil-painting of Sir Hugh, by Hal Hurst, was presented to the University by his daughter, Lady Lincoln Tangye, and gratefully accepted. The portrait represents him wearing his academic robes and now hangs in the Mitchell Hall.

President of the World's Press Parliament and American Journey.

(1) *The Inception of the Idea of a World's Press Parliament.*

The most signal honour conferred upon Sir Hugh, however, and an honour which resulted in the most interesting journey and varied experiences of his whole life, was his election in the spring of 1904 as President of the first World's Press Parliament. The idea of summoning such a Parliament originated with an influential Committee of American Journalists, who had met to arrange a Press Congress at St Louis, Missouri, in connection with the "Louisiana Purchase Exposition"—a World's Fair and Exhibition held to commemorate the centenary of the acquirement of the Missouri Valley by the Americans. * On 13th April, David R. Francis, President of the Exposition, cabled to Sir Hugh, "Will you preside World's Press Parliament May nineteenth?" and his reply, sent at midnight, was "Thanks—Yes." He immediately set about making his arrangements, and on 4th May set sail for New York in the S.S. "Cedric," accompanied by his daughter, Miss Octable Turquet Reid. The ship arrived on 12th May; and continuing his journey overland by train, Sir Hugh arrived at St. Louis on Monday, the 16th, and was accommodated with his daughter at the Hamilton Hotel. The next day (Tuesday) he addressed a meeting of American editors; and on Wednesday evening at a social function in the West Pavilion received—along with President Francis and the Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State—the delegates to the Parliament. Those delegates, "elected or accredited by their respective Press associations, numbered altogether over 4000, and represented 37 different countries."

(2) *The First Session.*

The first session of the Parliament, properly so-called, was held on Thursday, May 18th. The members met in the Festival Hall, a huge building with a dome like St. Peter's, which had been built specially for the "Miraculous Exposition," and described by someone as its "crowning glory." One of the Vice-Presidents of the Parlia-

* "We celebrate this year, with generous assistance of a friendly world, the most important event in the history of this great valley, an event which in far reaching and lasting results is surpassed by few in the life of the nation. . . . The transfer of this imperial domain from European to American control was one of those transactions which render the period of their accomplishment memorable for all time."—(Hon. John Hay, LL.D., Secretary of State—Opening address, World's Press Parliament).

ment, Mr M. M'D. Bodkin, K.C., gives the following interesting account of the "setting." "We opened brilliantly on the evening of the 19th," he writes. "The Hall was on this occasion for the first time thrown open to the public. The Press representatives of thirty-five different nations were assembled on the platform. The body of the Hall held four thousand interested spectators of the proceedings. In the pit and galleries were the editors and literary celebrities of every State and great city of the vast Republic. The Hall was bright as day-light with a thousand electric bulbs. From floor to pinnacle ran living streams of light. The Press representatives sat embowered in a wilderness of palms, ferns, and greens. Behind towered the vast organ, its tubes penetrating the very ceiling. The fleur-de-lis of the Exposition, the red, white and blue, was everywhere in evidence. Outside the scene was one of fairy-like splendour. The illuminations were particularly elaborate in honour of the event. The dark waters of the lagoon below reflected the myriads of electric bulbs. To the east and west, the Exposition palaces stretched wide their fan-shaped arms of light. The experiences of the night proved the splendid acoustics of the great hall. The voice of the speaker filled the vast space easily and every word was distinctly audible." *

Captain Henry King, Chairman of the Committee, presided at the commencement and introduced Secretary Hay, who, in the name of the President, welcomed the members to the United States, and more particularly to St. Louis; and expressed the prayer that their meeting might "be fruitful in advantage to the Press of all nations, and might bring them somewhat nearer to the dawn of the day of peace on earth and goodwill among men." Thereafter Sir Hugh, as the invited President, took the chair; and in a brilliant address lightened by humour, and brimful of information and wise suggestion, opened the Parliament. He expressed his pleasure at being asked to preside over so distinguished a gathering, explained to the members what had already been done to improve the position of the Press by the British Institute of Journalists and the International Press Congress,† and suggested that the World's Press Parliament might be used "to establish a perpetual medium of inter-communication between the men and women who express, guide, or formulate public opinion throughout the civilised world." No one present was more interested in that speech, or more solicitous about its success than Sir

* "*A Trip through the States*" by M. M'D. Bodkin, K.C.—Dublin, 1907.
† See *Supra*, p. 165, where part of his speech is given *verbatim*.

Hugh's own daughter, "the only lady on the rostrum," and she has given the following interesting account of the feelings of alternate fear and elation, which swayed her mind, when he rose to speak :—

"His turn came after John Hay had delivered his inimitable discourse. The outburst of applause died reluctantly away, and father rose to address the assembly. I shall never forget the moment, for, I must confess, I was as nervous as he. I can see him now, facing that vast audience, his characteristic pose—standing erect, shoulders squared and chest thrown out, the fingers of one hand resting upon the table, and the other grasping the copious pile of notes, his face pale with emotion. For the first few moments he spoke falteringly. His voice sank to a tremulous whisper, and his hands moved nervously. He constantly consulted his notes, and this obviously disturbed his continuity of thought. For a moment my heart stood still—I feared that the effort might prove too much for him after his recent illness. Then with a sudden impulse he thrust his hands behind his back, crumpling up the pile of notes as he did so, and from that moment onwards never giving them another thought. With rare force and vigour, all sign of nervousness dispelled, he plunged into his theme; and in full sonorous tones, enriched by the indescribable charm of his native tongue, delivered an address which was, I believe, the most moving and eloquent oration of his life. The result was instantaneous—the spell was cast. He had touched the heart and imagination of that vast congregation of peoples, and the remainder of those historic days in St. Louis were one long triumph." She adds : "As we sat in his room that night, quietly discussing the events of the day—father with his 'wee drappie,' and I for certain sipping an ice cream soda—I remember him saying to me, 'Never again in my life will I prepare a written speech. I'll trust to my native tongue to carry me through. It's never failed me yet'."

(3) *The Work of the Parliament.*

Next day the first business meeting of the Parliament was held. After the reading of many interesting papers descriptive of Press life and methods in various centres of Europe and in the United States, a resolution was proposed and eventually carried for the establishment of a permanent World's Press Parliament, to hold its meetings at such times and in such places as might be arranged. A responsible committee was also appointed to devise the best method of giving the

resolution practical effect. Altogether the Parliament had four prolonged sittings—two in the Festival Hall, and two in the Hall of Congresses. At these not only were papers read, and speeches made, on almost every phase of modern journalism; but questions, affecting the status and functions of the Press, and the professional and personal relations of journalists in the various countries, were freely and fully discussed. Resolutions were also passed, or practical agreements come to—"the chief aims being to elevate the tone of the Press, to improve the position of the journalist, and to bring all into friendly and practical alliance." Especial interest and a certain piquancy was lent to the various sessions of the Parliament by the presence there of representatives from both Russia and Japan. These two nations were then at war, and the peaceful character and aim of the gathering was emphasised by more than one speaker. By none were these references more appreciated than by the representatives of the warring nations, and it was noted that each listened carefully to the address of the other, and was most warm in his applause. The Russian representative indeed expressed the hope that the next meeting of the Parliament would be held in Moscow, "where its presence could not fail to hasten the liberation of the Press of Russia."

At the closing session, Sir Hugh was heartily thanked for his services as chairman. All agreed that he had made an ideal president. "It was a great good fortune for the St. Louis Parliament," wrote Mr Paul Oeker in the *Globe Democrat*, "to secure the presence and presidency of Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid." The special correspondent of the *Adelaide Advertiser* was even more emphatic. "British journalism was signally honoured," he wrote, "in the unanimous choice of Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid as the president of the World's Press Parliament, and that gentleman has certainly comported himself in the presidential chair in a way that can only increase the respect of the foreign writer for our journals and journalists."

(4) *Honoured by the State University, Columbia, Missouri.*

After the Parliament had risen, a "gay time" ensued for Sir Hugh and his daughter. The Exposition provided a daily source of entertainment, and the Parliament itself gave occasion for a certain number of social functions. "On Saturday afternoon," runs the official account, "the Federation of Woman's Clubs held a Press session, and gave a large reception to the visiting Press in the German Building. On Saturday evening President Francis gave a dinner to

the foreign visitors. There were a number of receptions given by the various State and district associations, forty-three in number, who attended the World's Press Parliament. On Sunday afternoon upon the invitation of Alfred Grissom, president and general manager of the Columbia Excursion Company, one thousand delegates enjoyed a trip upon the Mississippi river on the steamer 'City of Providence'."* Thereafter invitations, public and private, poured in upon them from all sides. American hosts and hostesses vied with each other in doing them honour, and they had the pleaure not only of meeting, but of being entertained by, some of the most notable American citizens. The experience had its charms. "Some glimpses of the inner and best side of American life," wrote Sir Hugh to the home circle, "we simply revel in." On 31st May he paid a three days' visit to Columbia, Missouri, where he was the guest of the State University. To his amazement he was asked on twenty minutes' notice to accept the degree of LL.D. "On the second day of my attendance," is his own graphic account, "I was enjoying a cup of good English tea (it was ten minutes past nine o'clock in the morning) when a very energetic, little, black man-servant came rushing into my room and said, 'Sir, there is a telephone message for you. Shall I read it?' He then read as follows: 'At a meeting of the Board of Directors (Senate) of the University it was unanimously decided to suspend the rules, and offer you the degree of LL.D. If you accept, please reply by telephone and be at the University building by 9.30.' I was there in all the glory of my Scotch University robes, and the sight was one to be remembered for ever. In a magnificent hall there were 2300 graduates or graduands, including no fewer than 800 girls. Four eminent citizens—a colonel, an ex-newspaper proprietor, a leading engineer, and an ex-professor—and myself went through the usual, but to me more than ordinarily varied process of receiving degrees. When I took my seat there was a sudden sound from the students, quite evidently appreciative, and in reality the separate letters of MISSOURI, set to a kind of music, and ending with a startling note on the 'I'. This I was immediately informed was the call for a speech, and I had to respond. I afterwards shook hands with the women students, or, as the wicked St. Louis papers put it, 'embraced the 800'." When in Columbia he visited not only the various departments of the University, but the Baptist College; and was the guest of the evening at the annual banquet of the Phi Beta Kappa, an honorary Academic fraternity.

* *Proceedings of the World's Press Parliament*, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A., 1904.

His visit gave great pleasure. In an article on the Commencement ceremony, which appeared in the *Columbia Missouri Statesman* on June 3rd, the writer states:—"Sir Hugh made a decided hit in Columbia. If all the English knights are like him, it must be said that they have suffered much abuse at the hands of many American writers. There is nothing of the 'snob' in Sir Hugh. He is more like a good American democrat—a bluff, hearty, 'hale-fellow-well-met,' is the impression he made on those who had the honour of meeting him. He of course had a good word to say about Columbia and the American people in general, but he said it in way that carried an impression of sincerity and kindliness."

(5) *Opening of Replica of Burns Cottage.*

Another interesting and memorable day was June 14th. On that day Sir Hugh opened a replica of Burns' Cottage, which the enterprise and industry of his countrymen had succeeded in having included as part of the famous St. Louis Exposition. It was "a perfect and impressive reproduction, planted on the banks of the Mississippi of the lowly 'clay biggin' in which Robert Burns first saw the light of day." President Francis was unable to be present, but his place was taken by Judge Ferris; and Mr John Dick, President of the Burns' Association, introduced Sir Hugh. Being his last public function in St. Louis, Sir Hugh took advantage of the occasion to thank his American friends for their kindness, and to let them know the impressions which he had gleaned; but the whole speech is so happy that it is best given in his own words:—"With what is left of me after five weeks in St. Louis, I shall attempt to address you. Our poet has defined, in language which lives for ever, the nature of pleasures:—

> Pleasures are like poppies spread;
> You pluck the flower, its bloom is shed;
> Or, like the snowfall in the river,
> A moment white then gone for ever.

These words express the sentiments which predominate in my heart this afternoon; and as this may be the last opportunity which I shall have of addressing you, I wish to say here what I have felt day after day, week after week, since I settled temporarily among you, viz., that from all sections and all classes, my daughter and I have experienced a kindness and sympathy, a courtesy and helpfulness, altogether

new even in the diversified and beautiful life which has been mine. . . . . I have formed new friendships in this city and in its neighbourhood. It was my privilege from early boyhood to know intimately, either personally or by correspondence, some of your foremost citizens. When in my 'teens I was thrown into the society of Elihu Burritt: from boyhood's days I had also the friendship of one who, perfect in character and noble in aim, was cut down by the assassin's hand almost before his greatest work had begun—President Garfield. I have been associated with one of your great citizens, whose gifts to your country and to my own (I speak as a Scotsman), have been lavish and wisely bestowed—Andrew Carnegie. And of late years I have had the closest ties with your own dear 'Mark Twain,' to whom from every heart goes forth, in this hour of sadness the deepest, the truest, and the strongest sympathy.* . . . . Yes, I am grateful for all I have received, and I will go back to England to start life afresh as it were; for we have got lessons here which can never be forgotten. . . . . Why are we here this afternoon? Surely that question need not be asked. This little cottage embraces and expresses the noblest ideals of our common humanity. When we wish to express a true and great sentiment, the language is the language of Burns. If justice be our theme, what did he say?

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

If feeling?

"What signifies the life of man, gin' 'twerna for the lasses?"

If independence and freedom?

A king can make a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that;
But the man o' independent mind
Is king o' men for a' that.

Touch nature—touch life at any point—and the language that comes to you is the language of Burns, the language that gives full and effective expression to the loftiest sentiments of the mind. . . . . When I looked down from President Francis' window the day after my

* Mark Twain had just lost his wife. He lived in Sir Hugh's house for two months during the summer of 1900. Cf. *infra*. p. 185.

arrival in St. Louis, I saw what intuition told me was a Scotch cottage, and I asked, 'What is this?' 'That,' said my informant, 'is a replica of Burns' Cottage.' My heart leaped with joy. I, of course, expected to find a Scotchman in St. Louis (you all know the legend—or is it a passage from Scripture?—'When explorers reach the North Pole they will find a Scotchman astride it'). But I have had two agreeable surprises. I have found that on the banks of the Mississippi, far away from the banks of the Doon, you established the first *clan* (you called it a society and the movement has extended all over your glowing land). And now I have found what doesn't exist in any other part of the world—not even in Scotland—a Burns' Cottage Association. I soon got to the bottom of the story. I heard of Mr Dick's efforts to complete what we see here this afternoon. He had his difficulties (all great movements have); but with true Scotch pluck, he and a group of friends have stuck to their ideal and triumphed. Believe me this little cottage will tell to thousands of people who come here what we all know and feel, that the man who touches the heart and moves the soul,—the man whose poems and songs have spread over the wide, wide world—is the man whose immortal memory we celebrate to-day—our Scottish national poet, Robert Burns. . . . . Someone asked me to-day, "What does it all mean—this song and this music? Song! Music! As well might you ask me to analyse and define the wail of the wind, the moan of the sea, the note of the lark, or the ripple of the rivulet that wimples down the glen. All we know is that it exists—a living, moving, ever present reality—and we thank God for it. . . . . I look at this cottage, and I look at these buildings. These gilded and splendid palaces will soon pass away—they will vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision. May I express the hope that this little cottage will be preserved, so that it may be handed down, a monument of enlightened forethought and truest brotherhood, through all the weary generations of men."

(6) *Canada—Meetings with Brothers.*

As Sir Hugh anticipated, the opening of the Burns' Cottage was the last public ceremony in which he took part during his stay in St. Louis: his daughter and he bade it "Good-bye" on the 17th. He was anxious before returning home to meet two of his brothers who were still alive in Canada, and also to make a pilgrimage to his mother's grave; and accordingly having spent two days in Ohio seeing friends

there, and having paid a visit to the Falls of Niagara, he crossed into Canada on the 23rd. At Niagara he was met by his younger brother, William, a farmer in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, whom he had not seen since the family sailed away in the "Jane Boyd" in the 'fifties. "Their meeting," writes his daughter, "was characteristically simple—a handshake, an embrace; and then father plunged into the past, retelling the story of the struggles and difficulties, failures and high achievements of those early days when they were boys together." William accompanied them throughout their Canadian tour and proved a genial companion and guide, readily interested and greatly delighted by all the important people whom he met. He insisted that they should spend a day or two with him at his home in Hamilton; and from there they travelled to Toronto, where Sir Hugh was entertained by many personal friends. From Toronto they journeyed to Ottawa, where he found himself in the congenial atmosphere of politics and politicians, and was fêted by the most of the leading statesmen.* His stay was all too short to gratify his Canadian friends; but he was due at Washington on 28th June, and on the morning of the 27th he left for Montreal. There he met his elder brother, a very successful farmer, with a big family all doing well. "Though bent with age," writes Sir Hugh's daughter, "he was still a handsome man, with finely chiselled features, and long silvery white hair and beard. It was very pathetic, however, to see him. He had come a long journey from the country that morning, and the excitement and expectation seemed almost too much for him—he was trembling all over and his voice quivered. But father quietly sat down beside him, and they had a long and intimate chat together, which charmed the old man. We heard of his death very shortly after our return home." At Montreal also he went to see his mother's grave,—the mother whom he so reverenced and to whose foresight and wisdom he owed so much. It had long been his desire to see the spot where she was buried, and to visit the country that had befriended her in her time of extremity and need. His desire had now been granted, and at 8 o'clock in the evening, when he boarded the train for Washington, his thoughts were long thoughts. To meet the President of the United States as he purposed to do within 48 hours—that was something which might satisfy his ambition: but to look upon his mother's grave as

* Among those who thus honoured them were Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Premier; the Hon. W. S. Fielding, the Minister of Finance; Sir William Mulock, Postmaster-General; and the Hon. Rudolphe Lemieux, Solicitor-General.

he had done that day, and to see and to talk with his 'ain folk,' from whom he had been separated by fully half a lifetime—that was an experience that filled the heart and turned the mind to Diviner channels.

"Leave me not, God, until—nay, until when?
Not till I have with Thee one heart, one mind;
Not till the life is light in me, and then
Leaving is left behind."*

(7) *Visit to White House and Interview with President Roosevelt.*

Let his daughter also describe his visit to the President:—"As we drove along the broad avenues to White House, father was in raptures over the magnificence of that enchanting city of dazzling white. I remember well how handsome and alive he looked that morning. Indeed I must own I felt a thrill of pardonable pride as he entered the White House—quick, alert, vigorous, with that dignity and presence which made him such a striking personality. I can recall very little of the conversation that took place after our formal presentation. My one recollection is that they passed so swiftly from one subject to another, covering so much ground in so short a time, that the rather overawed little daughter found herself quite incapable of carrying away any coherent impression of what was actually said, and there seems to be no record of it. My own impression is rather that of 'the lion's den.' One incident, however, stands out—it explains how easily my father found it to break ground with the President. In introducing me he said, 'This is a *specimen* of my family. I have seven daughters and three sons.' The President, whose interest in eugenics was well known, gave me one look; and then, turning to father, said, 'Come along and let us have a talk. You are the man for my money'." Little wonder that the "goods and chattels" thus appraised should have felt that she was in the lion's den! There is certainly no record of Sir Hugh's conversation with the President in any of his letters or published papers. He was interviewed by a representative of the *Evening Star*, and the interview appeared in the issue of July 2nd; but the paper gives merely Sir Hugh's impressions

* George M'Donald.

of the President—"a sterling man with a grip of iron. . . . . Now that I have been confronted by his strong personality, it is an easy matter to understand his success."

When in Washington, Secretary Hay arranged a luncheon in honour of Sir Hugh and his daughter, and there they met "the élite of American brain and culture." A few busy days followed similar to those spent in Ottawa, and then they made tracks for New York. Their sojourn there was somewhat marred by the blazing heat, and their comfort was not added to by the strenuous nature of the activities. It was, however, the "last lap," and they smiled cheerfully through it; though both confessed to a secret gladness when, on 13th July, they sailed for home in R.M.S. "Baltic." As early as 10th June, Sir Hugh had written to the home circle—"To me, as well as to my companion, the experience is full of interest and attraction; yet we both feel that we could easily take the next return train—we have secured, long ago, our return tickets!" Nevertheless, as he himself would have been the first to acknowledge, America had given him the time of his life. "I often used to say," writes his daughter, "that my greatest enjoyment was in watching my father's unbounded, yet almost childlike enthusiasm and delight, in the varied events of each day. The World's Fair was to him a veritable world, of which with his intuition, sympathy, and understanding, he instantly became a part." That faculty perhaps explains, not only the welcome he received in America, but much of the success of his life's work.

Residence at Dollis Hill.

After he gave up Warley Abbey in 1896, Sir Hugh had gone to reside at Dollis Hill in the suburbs of London, made famous by the novelist, Harrison Ainsworth.* From 1882 to 1895 it had been the residence of Lord Aberdeen, who took it over from his father-in-law, the late Earl of Tweedmouth. Lord Aberdeen had Mr Gladstone as a frequent visitor (Sir Andrew Clark, his physician, having recommended "the Dollis air as particularly suited for the aged statesman"); and several notable political gatherings took place within the house and grounds. Besides numerous social functions organised by Lord and Lady Aberdeen on behalf of the Liberal Party, it was here on

* The notorious highwayman, Jack Sheppard (whose daring deeds he has made to live in literature), is represented by him as being harboured in the old farm house of Dollis Hill.

Saturday, 14th May, 1887, that Mr Gladstone gave a garden party to the delegates of the Colonial Conference, when Lord Granville and Mr Childers, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were present as well as delegates from Newfoundland, Western Australia, the West Indies, and other colonies. On another Saturday he received here a deputation of Americans from New York, who came to present a silver trophy, in the shape of a casket three feet high, in recognition of Mr Gladstone's services to the Irish cause. For one reason the garden is especially memorable. It was in the garden that Mr Gladstone and Mr Chamberlain took their last meal together, in 1886, at a conference at which both statesmen hoped, but hoped in vain, that some mutual understanding might be arrived at on the subject of Irish Home Rule.* The situation and surroundings of the house are very beautiful. Mark Twain, to whom the house was lent by Sir Hugh for a short period in 1900, was charmed with them, and recorded his impressions in a characteristic parody of Lord Tennyson's lines :—

"Better sixty days of Dollis
Than a cycle of Cathay."†

When Sir Hugh went to reside there he found some refuge from his great sorrow in the many activities suggested by the associations of the place. "He assembled," writes a friend, "many Liberal gatherings in the historic grounds, and also found opportunities for having about him his old friends of the Institute of Journalists. Though on a smaller scale than Warley, the house and park afforded ample facilities for entertaining which recalled the Warley days. The large spreading trees on the lawn made it a most agreeable trysting place for the jaded Londoner in the hot days of summer. Even in 1897, before the days of motor 'buses and 'taxis,' it was within easy reach of London. To all intents and purposes a secluded country seat, it was none the less capable of being made a centre of metropolitan life."

He stayed at Dollis till 1906, when he went to reside chiefly at Tenderden Hall in Middlesex, once the family residence (giving his title) of the famous Lord Chancellor of 1827. Dollis was acquired

* A very interesting article by Mr E. T. Slater entitled "Dollis Hill and its Memories of Gladstone," appeared in the *Windsor Magazine* for 1899, and was reprinted as a small brochure in May, 1901. I am indebted to it for the above facts.

† Tennyson's lines in "Locksley Hall" are :—

"Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay."

by the Willesden Urban Council at a cost of £50,000, and turned into a public park, which, by unanimous consent, was designated "The Gladstone Park" in memory of the famous statesman's visits. Sir Hugh readily resigned all his interests; for he saw with others the necessity that, in so densely crowded a district, an open air space should be provided which might remain as a permanent "lung" of Greater London. The ceremony of throwing the grounds open to the people took place in May, 1901, and was fitly performed by Lord Aberdeen in the presence of an illustrious company (including Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, Chairman of the London County Council, Sir Ralph Littler, C.B., and other notables) and a crowd estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand. The host laughingly described himself as the "evicted tenant," and rejoiced at being able to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object. When he finally left Dollis, the house and garden were added to the park.

Curiously enough the two other homes with which his life had been most intimately associated have also ceased to be places of private abode. Newlands Park, Middlesborough, was transformed into a Catholic Institution. Warley Abbey, which remained for a time the residence of Sir Hugh's son-in-law, Sir H. L. Tangye, was purchased by the Corporation of Birmingham in 1906, and like Dollis, was transformed into a public park.

His Death.

As Sir Hugh had given his life for the welfare of others, so, it may be claimed, he also died in the public service. When Mr (now Viscount) Haldane commenced his great work of military reorganisation, and created out of the old volunteers the present Territorial Force, he had no more ardent supporter than Sir Hugh. He entered with enthusiasm into the work, lending his help not only as an influential publicist, but also as an active organiser within his own county. In recognition of the value of his advocacy, he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Middlesex County Association. One day shortly after returning from a visit to Italy (where he had gone for his health's sake in the spring of 1909) he suggested to his daughters, Octable and Sybil, that they might accompany him in a motor run, to the camp at Bisley where his duties as Vice-Chairman demanded his presence. They gladly complied, and all went well till a sharp corner had to be negotiated. The car refused to take it, and dashed into the adjacent

wall. Miss Octable and the chauffeur escaped untouched, but Miss Sybil sustained an injury which confined her to bed for the best part of a year. As for Sir Hugh, no bones were broken, but he was badly shaken, and his system was subjected to a severe shock. Hæmorrhage ensued, incapacitating him from active work for a considerable period.

Indeed the effects of his accident never left him. Heart weakness supervened, and entailed constant care and watchfulness. He recovered so far that he was able to travel to Aberdeen in October, and to deliver his promised lecture to the students there; but his condition was a matter of grave anxiety to his family, and throughout the whole of the following year he was more or less an invalid. In the beginning of 1911 he was seriously ill; but he recovered so far as to be able to travel, and in August he visited Tees-side. Though thin and worn, he was never more mentally alert, and even his friends were deceived by his abounding mental activity and strength of resolution. He presided at the annual meeting of Messrs Richard Hill & Co., of the Wire Rolling Mills, and delivered an able address both on the affairs of that prosperous firm, and on the general industrial and commercial situation. He also attended several meetings of the Board of the North Eastern News Association, Ltd. (of which he was Chairman), and entered with all his old zest into both the literary and commercial concerns of the "*North Eastern Daily Gazette.*" Everyone who came in contact with him was most agreeably astonished at his activity.

He had taken a house for the autumn at Saltburn, and there he was visited by several members of his family. He stayed fully six weeks. The sea air seemed to do him good, but towards the end of his stay he became preternaturally exhausted; and on 18th October he left for Tenderden Hall. He still continued to take a lively interest in affairs. "During the last ten days," writes a friend who was with him at the end, "he showed his old discoursive powers, engaging his bedside attendants in conversation for hours, and travelling over an infinite variety of subjects. The topics discussed were the most recent incidents in public and semi-public life with which he still showed a marvellous acquaintance. Where he absorbed this modern information was a puzzle to his hearers, because illness left him few opportunities for getting into touch with the world." But despite the mental keenness, physically he was now ill and weak; and on Thursday, 2nd November, it became evident that he was sinking. His family were

summoned, and in their presence he passed peacefully away on the morning of the following Sunday.

His Funeral.

On Wednesday, 8th November, amid a widespread demonstration of affection, he was laid to rest beside his wife in the old cemetery at Middlesborough. A brief service was held in Newport Road Baptist Church, where he had worshipped for so many years, and was conducted by the Rev. Robert Ensoll, assisted by the Rev. E. O. Clifford, and the Rev. G. C. Leader of Stockton. The last-mentioned delivered an impressive address, which was listened to with deep attention by the assembled crowd. "All admit him," said Mr Leader, "to have been one of the world's great men, whose lengthened shadows make the history of their time. And now he has gone! A prince and a good man has fallen in Israel. A prince—for though he gloried in being born a cottar's babe, yet he was 'royally born by right divine.' A good man—for the whole record of his life is a record of great things greatly done."* The service opened with the singing of Watts' paraphrase of the 90th Psalm—"O God, our help in ages past," and closed with Ellerton's hymn—"Now the labourer's task is o'er." Thereafter the coffin was borne to the graveside. Among many beautiful floral tributes sent from far and near was a magnificent cross some six feet in length from his loyal helpers in the office of the *North Eastern Daily Gazette*. It bore the simple inscription—"A tribute of affection and respect from the staff." The whole press both of this country and of other lands mourned his loss—for days the family were deluged with letters, telegrams, and cables, expressing sympathy. Many of them came from obscure journalists who said that they felt his death like a personal loss—some of them stated that he had given them their first real chance in life, others that they would never forget his kindness in tiding them over long illnesses. Even to the members of his family these letters were a revelation.

When the article on "In the Days of My Youth" appeared in the "*M.A.P.*" in 1901, Mr T. P. O'Connor, the editor, added the following note:—

"What a wonderful race it is—the Scotch. Every day my wonder and admiration increase for it. Here is the story of Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid, and really it is more like romance than reality.

* Report—*Stockton and Thornaby Herald*, 11 Nov. 1911.

"It is a story possible only to two races—the Scotch and the American. If you met Sir Hugh, you would rush to the conclusion that all his life had been devoted to letters; that he had had every advantage of education; and that his agreeable manners, with all the friendliness and prompt spontaneity of true gentility, and his handsome distinguished appearance, could only have been learned in the school of refinement which leisure and wealth supply in the early and impressionable years.

"And here is his life story told by himself—a history of early and almost tragic penury; of work started at a time when he had just left the nursery, and continued ever since for more than three-score years; and of practical lack of all steady and certainly of completed university education.

"And yet there is no man with whom you can spend a literary evening more pleasantly. He has read everything, and read it with the enthusiasm, ardour, and insight of a man with poetic temperament.

"He speaks not only with readiness, but with a certain ardent eloquence and fire that are the marks of oratorical temperament; in short, a more thorough specimen of the brilliant and wide-read scholar, of the literary enthusiast and of the refined and courteous gentleman you could not meet. And it all began in a Highland cabin with oatmeal and work in the fields, and three halfpence a week as a starting income.

"It is only, as I have said, possible of a Scotchman!"

That note is a tribute, and as finely expressed as any that were written ten years later when he died. The writer seizes unerringly on the things that marked Sir Hugh as a man among men. Further comment is needless. The story of his life is itself the best comment.

"His cry was, 'Light, more light, while time shall last!'
He saw the glories growing on the night,
But not the shadows which that light shall cast
Till shadows vanish in the Light of Light."*

* Lines written by Tennyson as an inscription for the Caxton window in St Margaret's Church, Westminster.

APPENDIX.

A.—Articles (published separately), and Books by Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid.

Songs and Poems of the Rev. John Skinner. With biographical sketch. Cloth 2/-; Gilt 2/6. Peterhead: W. L. Taylor. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

Old Oscar, the Faithful Dog. With illustration by Harrison Weir. In a neat cover, 2d. Peterhead: Wm. L. Taylor. Edition de Luxe, with illustrations by Landseer and other artists. Dedicated to Earl and Countess of Erroll.

Lowland Legends. Crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt 2/-. London, "Home Words" Office, 1 Paternoster Bdgs.

Every man His own Landlord. A pamphlet. Paper cover. London, W. S. Patridge & Co.

Art Studies from Landseer. A series of six papers contributed in 1878 to "The Fireside" (Edited by Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D.), with Illustrations.

Housing the People. An example in Co-operation. With large illustration of dwellings. Paper cover 1/-, Cloth 2/6. Edinburgh, Clarke, 1892.

Benjamin Disraeli; Lord Beaconsfield. Article upon the occasion of his death published in pamphlet form.

President Garfield. Sketch of Life. Edited by Rev. Charles Bullock, B.D., among "Talks with the People by men of mark." Cloth with portrait 1/-. London, "Home Words" Office.

Jacob Thomson. Biographical Sketch. In "Eldmuir; an Art Story of Scottish Home Life" by Jacob Thomson, jr. London, "Home Words" Office.

Past and Present, or Social and Religious life in the North. Illustrated, 6/-. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas.

'Tween Gloamin an' the Mirk.—Tales and Sketches of Scottish Life. Crown 8vo. Cloth antique, gilt top, 6/-. Paisley, A. Gardner, 1897.

Ethics of Getting-on in Life.—Address to the Debating and Literary Societies of the University of Aberdeen, 1909. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

The Citizen Army: Democracy and Home Defence. A pamphlet on the Territorial Army. London, Harrison & Sons, 1911.

B.—Members of Special Committee of World's Press Parliament.

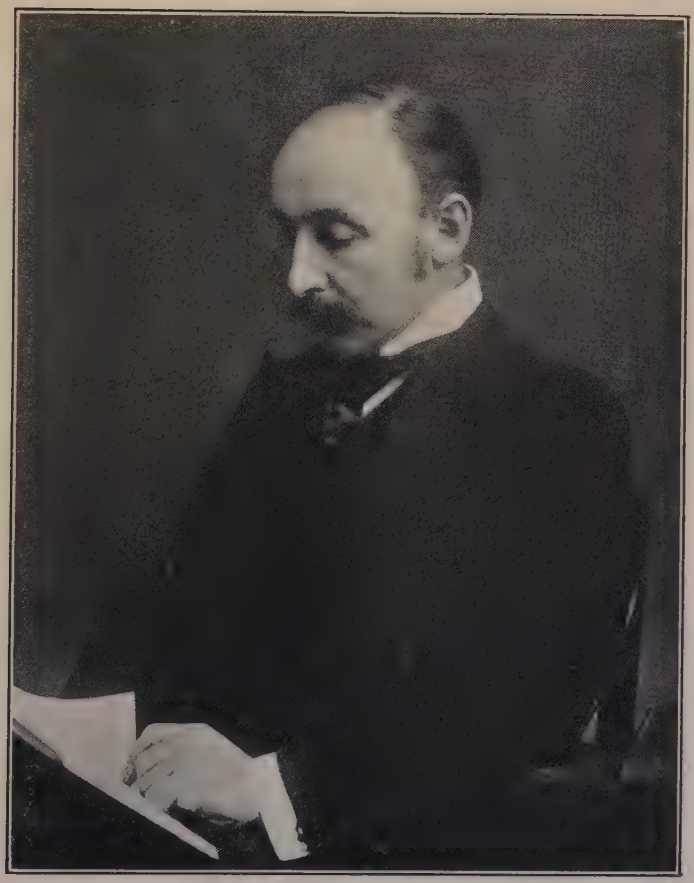
The following members of the World's Press Parliament of 1904 were appointed as a Special Committee to effect its permanent organization:—

Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid, London, President, World's Press Parliament.
David R. Francis, President, Louisiana Purchase Exposition.
Walter B. Stevens, Secretary, Louisiana Purchase Exposition.
Hugo von Kupper, Berlin, Vice-President, World's Press Parliament.
Henry King, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Chairman, Executive Committee, World's Press Parliament.
Charles W. Knapp, St Louis Republic, Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee, World's Press Parliament.
Walter Williams, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A., Secretary, Executive Committee, World's Press Parliament.

Dr Alexander Bruce.

"Dr Bruce was a man of exceptional mind and character. He was a typical product of the race and civilisation of Buchan, the long open land of East Aberdeenshire, where the people are marked by untiring energy of mind and body, their uncompromising independence of character, their unostentatiousness of life, and their unlimited ambition and desire of knowledge. Bruce had all these qualities in their highest degree."

—Sir Leslie MacKenzie, "*The Lancet.*"



DOCTOR ALEXANDER BRUCE.

Dr Alexander Bruce.

The Bruces of Inverquhomery and Longside.

For many generations the Bruces of Inverquhomery have been a well-known Aberdeenshire family. Enterprise and diligence characterised the race—an inborn love for scientific experiment, and a tenacity of purpose that won for them universal respect. While others were content to tread accustomed paths, they struck out on original lines; and three of them at least achieved names for themselves as pioneers in the science of agriculture.* Nor were they farmers only. The church claimed one member of the family.† The law another.‡ Shipping absorbed the energies of a third.§ And medicine claimed the subject of this sketch—an honoured name among physicians, as we shall see, and a name still to conjure with in the sciences of Neurology and Psychiatry.

Tracing their descent back to Ninian Bruce of Newseat in Peterhead, who died about 1699, they migrated in the next generation to Longside; and a grandson, Alexander, settled at Inverquhomery.‖ In the old cemetery at Longside the following inscription may still be read on his tombstone:—

> Here lies confined a while to promised rest,
> In hopes to rise again among the Blest,
> The precious dust of one whose course of life
> Knew neither fraud, hypocrisy, nor strife;
> A husband loving, and of gentle mind,
> A father careful, provident, and kind,
> A farmer, active with no greedy view,
> A Christian pious, regular, and true,
> One who in quiet trod the private stage
> Of rural labour to a ripe old age:
> Beloved by neighbours, honoured by his own,
> Lived without spot and dy'd without a groan,

* Alexander Bruce, baptised 19 July, 1703, settled at Inverquhomery; Alexander Bruce of Millhill, born 13 June, 1785; and Alexander Bruce, father of Dr Bruce. Cf. *infra* p. 194.

† Rev. Alexander Bruce, M.A., born 1785, for 47 years incumbent of St. Andrew's Banff.

‡ Alexander Bruce, M.A., K.C., born 23 Nov., 1836, of Bedford Road, Toronto, Canada.

§ James Bruce, born 3 June, 1787, of Inverquhomery and Longside, Magistrate and Commissioner of Supply for Aberdeenshire.

‖ Baptised 19 July, 1703; married Margaret Cumming, a daughter of William Cumming of Longside, on 25th July, 1734, died 25 April, 1785, at the age of 81.

Long may his humble virtues be rever'd,
Long be his name remembered with regard.
And long may Agriculture's School produce
Such honest men as Alexander Bruce. *

His grandson James acquired a large fortune as a Shipowner at Peterhead, and purchased the properties of Inverquhomery and Longside from the Fergusons of Pitfour. By his will, dated 12 Jan., 1858, he left the bulk of his property to the Presbytery of Deer, † but on his death on 16th March, 1862, the estate passed to his nephew James. Meantime a younger nephew, Alexander, had married Mary Milne, daughter of William Milne of Ardendraught in Cruden, and had settled in that Parish as tenant of the farm of Ardiffery. The marriage took place on 18th October, 1853, and on 16th September of the following year (1854) a son, Alexander—their only child as it proved—was born to them. It is the life story of that child which is told in the following pages. ‡

Parentage.

The parents of Alexander Bruce were both remarkable people. His father was one of the most prominent tenant farmers in the county of Aberdeen. Farming was to him more than an occupation—it was a deeply interesting study; and he was one of the few farmers who in those days threw themselves with avidity into experimental and research work calculated to prove of genuine practical value. He was also a man of wide culture and attainments—few farmers were better known or loved. "By those who knew him of all kinds and conditions he was held in high esteem." In May, 1862, he left Cruden, and leased the farm of Millhill in Longside, which had been farmed by his father, and he died there on 28th January, 1885. The following account of his career which appeared in the *Peterhead Sentinel* helps in no small measure to explain his son's distinction:—"One of the largest farmers on the Kinmundy Estate, Mr Bruce was widely known in the north as an energetic and enterprising agriculturist, shrewd and intelligent in his business, keenly alive to every movement likely to assist the cause of agriculture, and thoroughly abreast of the age in its scientific aspect and in all matters which should be important to the practical farmer. Having previously had

* The above quoted inscription was written by the Rev. Dean Skinner of Linshart—the famous author of *Tullochgorum*, etc.—who was a great personal friend.

† This Fund is now known as "The Bruce Bequest."

‡ For "family tree" of the Bruces see Appendix A and B.

a lease of the farm of Ardiffery in Cruden, he became tenant of Millhill on the death of his father (who preceded him in the occupancy), and he has occupied the farm ever since with a success which has no doubt been largely due to the energy and skill which he brought to bear on his work. He was Vice-President of the Buchan Agricultural Society, and took a keen interest alike in its exhibitions (in which he himself was not seldom a successful exhibitor), and in the discussions which from time to time took place on agricultural topics at the dinners and other gatherings, where his happy good humour always rendered him exceedingly popular. Of the Buchan Analytical Society (of which he was president), he had been the leading spirit all along; and the good work, which has been done by the society in enabling the farmers to avoid spurious manures, may not unfairly be set down as in very large degree due to Mr Bruce, whose exertions a year ago gave the society a fresh start on a new basis. He was one of the witnesses from this part of the country examined before the Duke of Richmond's Commission on Agriculture; and his genial face and portly figure were familiar at most of the important agricultural shows in the north. His energies, however, were by no means confined to agriculture. Not a fluent or ready speaker, he was nevertheless an exceedingly well-read and well-informed man on many subjects. A fellow of the Royal Antiquarian Society, he took a special interest in antiquarian studies, and possessed a valuable collection of antiquities; he had also a keen taste for art. In politics, he was a staunch and ardent Conservative, and took no little interest in the organisation of that party in the north. Lately he had taken much interest in the formation of the curling club at Pitfour, in which he had enrolled himself a member, and was taking part in the game with great zest only a few days before his death. In many other relations, he came much in contact with all classes in Buchan, and was everywhere popular. In many circles his hearty vigour and unfailing bonhomie will be greatly missed."

Bruce's mother was also remarkable—a capable woman who won the affectionate esteem of all her neighbours. She was a twin sister, one of a family of six, who had all been trained in industrious ways. * Two nieces who were resident in the parish of Cruden, when I became

* The other members of the family were:—Janet (Mrs Anderson, Ward, Slains), Barbara (Mrs White, Ardconnon, Old Meldrum), Jane (her twin sister who died unmarried), John (Farmer, Aulton of Ardendraught, Cruden), and Ann (Mrs Abel, Hay Farm, Cruden).

minister there, used to say that there was no one for whom they had a greater regard than "Aunt Mary"; and many indeed were the stories which they had of her shrewd sagacity and unfailing kindness. On one occasion an accident happened to the dinner during harvest time. It was then served in the field; and a big pot of potato soup, suspended from the axle of a cart, was being conveyed thither, when the bow or handle broke and the whole contents were spilled. Consternation reigned; but Mrs Bruce's resources were not exhausted. She had plenty bread and milk, and a good fire. She boiled the milk, cut the bread into small cubes, put in plenty of sugar, and then—to silence the critics — added "a good dash from the whiskey pig." Within fifteen minutes the loss had been made good, and the farm hands declared that they "wouldna mind gin the bow o' the pot broke ilka day." Indeed her kindness to the servants, male and female, was proverbial; and she was loved by them all. "She was the soul of generosity," writes a friend who knew her well, "and her generosity extended not only to material matters, but to the faults and failings of others. To do a kindly action she regarded as a privilege and joy."

His Schooldays.

The farm of Ardiffery, where Alexander Bruce was born, is one of the best in the parish of Cruden. It lies in a sheltered hollow on the top of the ridge to the west of the Parish Church; and the soil for the most part is rich loam, though in the higher reaches there are spots where clay and peat are found. It has been under cultivation for many generations; and the farm house, built in the beginning of last century, is still in good condition. It was an ideal home for a child. Sloping pleasantly to the south the garden is a sweet spot, and gets every possible ray of sunlight from early morning till late evening. Far from busy centres and factories of any kind, the breezes blow across the farm — if from the south or east, laden with the freshness of the sea; if from the north or west, laden with the fragrance of moor and pasture.

Bruce, however, was only a child of seven when in May, 1862, his parents removed from Cruden to Millhill. The consequence was that he received his school education in Longside and Aberdeen. He learned his letters at the wayside school of Shannas, which had been built to accommodate the outlying portions of the parishes of Longside and Old Deer. And at the tender age of ten he was sent to the

Chanonry House School in Old Aberdeen — better known as the "Gym" or Gymnasium—where he was boarded under the care of the Principal, Dr Anderson.

This school is now extinct, but for long it occupied an honourable place among the educational institutions of the north, and some of the best minds in the city of Aberdeen received their early training there. It was founded by the Rev. Dr Anderson ("Govie" as the boys called him), * and was conducted on the principle of the higher class English Schools. That is to say, it aimed at supplementing the purely classic method of education (which had been popularised in the north by Dr Melvin of the Grammar School) by the addition of such studies as French, German, and Chemistry. Attention was also paid to athletic exercises. † Here Bruce remained for six years, and received a good grounding in all the subjects which fitted him for a University career. He was a diligent scholar, and a favourite with his teachers; but by his companions he was regarded as too "bookish." "He was very reticent," writes one of them, "stand-offish, and almost dour. He seldom entered into any of our games. ‡ We called him 'Cheese,' but why I don't know. I rather suspect a kebbock had arrived some morning from Millhill Farm, and had been spotted by the rest of us. Of course we all knew all about his weakness for Annie Connell, § and that may have kept us from giving him our confidence. It certainly made us merciless." The Principal, however, knew his worth. "I always heard Dr Anderson speak of him," writes another, "with the utmost respect and almost reverence."

* Dr Anderson was an interesting personality and a man of remarkable power. A native of Peterhead, he studied at the University of St. Andrews with a view to the legal profession. He came under the influence, however, of Mr Haldane of Cloander, and determined to enter the church. Returning to the University he completed his studies for the ministry, and was appointed minister of the parish of Boyndie. At the Disruption in 1843 he joined the Free Church, and was appointed minister of the Free Church in Old Aberdeen. A change of views on the subject of Baptism led to his deposition from the ministry in 1848; and from that time he gave himself up to teaching. The University of St. Andrews awarded him the degree of LL.D. He died on 25th October, 1884, in his 77th year.

† A very interesting account of the school, from the point of view of "an old boy," was published in 1885 by Messrs Taylor and Henderson, Aberdeen, under the title *The "Gym" or Sketches from School.* At the present time some of the old pupils are purposing to publish a "Memorial Volume" of the school, the preparation of which has been entrusted to Mr Alex. Stewart, LL.D., St. Andrews.

‡ He, nevertheless, became captain of the school football club, and often used to speak of the benefit which he derived from the healthful exercise of these days. One can understand him having little in common with the boys who were "all arms and legs."

§ Afterwards Mrs Bruce. She was then a ward of Mrs Anderson, the Principal's wife. Cf. *infra* p. 202, footnote.

University of Aberdeen.

In October, 1870, just after his sixteenth birthday, he became a student at the University of Aberdeen. He entered it as first bursar of his year. * "Only the Aberdonian of 30 years ago," writes Sir Leslie MacKenzie in the *Lancet,* "can give that distinction its true meaning. To have a 'first' at the 'Comp' (the only real name of the Bursary Competition) was the ambition of every important schoolmaster in Aberdeenshire. It meant a career to the Scholar."

Out of a possible total of 1200 marks, Bruce achieved 947. The second place was gained by James Porter, who afterwards studied medicine and became a staff surgeon in the Navy—he is now Sir James Porter, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.D., LL.D., who acted as Director General of the Medical Department of the Navy, 1908-13. The third place was gained by Robert Scott, who entered the ministry of the Free Church, went out to India as a Missionary, and was appointed Professor of English in the Wilson College, Bombay. Porter had 922 marks and Scott 909. These were the only students over 900. Bruce's marks for Latin and Greek were exceptionally good. His English-Latin version secured 360 marks out of 400; his Latin-English 123 out of 150; and his Greek paper 150 out of 175. "Success at the 'Comp.' was possible only to the capable classical boy, and Bruce was one"—so Sir Leslie MacKenzie. In all 257 students competed, and of these 56 were placed. Bruce was assigned the bursary of highest value, viz., £35.

He maintained his reputation in classics throughout his course. In his first year he gained the 2nd prize in Junior Greek and 3rd in Junior Latin; and in his second year the 1st in Senior Latin, and 2nd in Senior Greek. The Seafield Gold Medal for Latin fell to him, and the Simpson prize (£70) for Greek—"the blue ribbon of Classics at the University." In other subjects he was almost equally brilliant; † and at the end of his course in 1874 he was awarded the Town Council Gold Medal—a medal given to the most distinguished student of each year. ‡ At the same time he graduated with First Class Honours in

* Bruce really went up in 1870 to *try* the Bursary Examination, intending to compete in earnest the following year. When, however, much to everybody's surprise, he came out first, he determined to proceed at once to the University.

† His places in the other classes were as follows:—First year—English, 11th; Second year—Junior Mathematics, 4th; Natural History, 2nd; Third year—Junior Natural Philosophy, 3rd; Senior Mathematics, 3rd; Logic, 2nd; Fourth year—Moral Philosophy, 5th; Evidences of Christianity, 6th.

‡ "The test was who should have the highest aggregate number of marks in the curriculum."

Classics, and his professors and fellow-students all expected that he would follow a classical career. "The grand old Classic of Aberdeen University, Sir William Geddes, spoke of Bruce's adoption of a scientific career as a grave loss to Classics." * "Had he chosen to remain a student of classics, he might have followed in the long line of Aberdeen men who have made names for themselves in the arenas of the south." †

University of Edinburgh.

Bruce, however, had his own doubts about the wisdom of such a career. The realms of pure scholarship attracted him, but he was still more attracted by the appeals of a useful life. After leaving Aberdeen he studied for three months in London with the thought of the Indian Civil Service in his mind, and then came to Edinburgh and took classes in Chemistry, Physics, and Geology. From that time science claimed him; and next year he became a regular student of medicine in Edinburgh, "attracted by the fame and larger opportunities of that School." "Fortunately for the science of Europe he preferred the richer new fields of medicine. . . . . He had the positive scientific mind, the sure-footedness of the born investigator, the unlimited capacity to make hypotheses, the faculty of exact analysis of data. Given these, and a man will end in science, no matter what the bias of his literary studies may be." ‡

As at Aberdeen his university course was crowned with distinction. "The hard-working Aberdonian was quickly a marked man. The lists of the University during the succeeding four years bear eloquent testimony to the stuff of which he was made." § He gained the Grierson and Tyndall-Bruce Bursaries, ‖ and in his last year the Ettles Scholarship. ¶ This was the highest honour of the year and the crowning point of his medical course. "Which of us Edinburgh men of that period," asks the late Sir Sims Woodhead of the Univer-

* *Edinburgh Medical Journal.*

† *Lancet.*

‡ *Lancet.*

§ He obtained the first place in the classes of Anatomy, Surgery (junior and senior), Practice of Medicine, Practical Gynaecology, Mental Diseases; and distinction in Physiology, Pathology, and Materia Medica.

‖ He gained the Grierson bursary on entrance, and the Tyndall-Bruce Bursary at the end of his third session (1878).

¶ The Ettles Scholarship is awarded annually to the Bachelor of Medicine and the Master of Surgery whom the Faculty may consider the most distinguished of that year."—(University Calendar).

sity of Cambridge, "can forget that great couple of students, R. Milne Murray and Dr Alexander Bruce, who came up to Edinburgh in the full flush of pride of great achievement in classics and philosophy in the northern University, determined to win further laurels in science and medicine from their competitors in the south? . . . . With such a record (as his Aberdeen one) some men might have taken a breathing space; not so Bruce. . . . . Medal after medal, almost invariably first, whether junior or senior, in theoretical, laboratory, or clinical work, followed in rapid succession, until at his graduation as M.B. and C.M. in 1879, it was announced that here, as at Aberdeen, he was *facile princeps inter pares*." * In addition to the Ettles Scholarship he was awarded at the close of his medical course (in 1879) the Leckie-Mactier Fellowship for excellence in post-graduate clinical work. †

Post-Graduate Studies.

Meantime he pursued a course of post-graduate study in medicine of the most thorough and exhaustive nature. For three months after graduation he acted as clinical assistant to Bevan Lewis at the West Riding Asylum, Wakefield, "a school for many distinguished neurologists." Lewis was really the first to inspire him to make a special study of the brain, and, under Lewis's guidance, he spent most of his spare time during these months in studying modern methods of examining diseased conditions of the nervous system. Afterwards he spent a year as a resident physician in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh (the late Professor Sir Grainger Stewart's and the late Professor Sir Thomas Fraser's wards). He then went abroad and studied in Vienna, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and Paris. At Vienna he worked at diseases of the eye under Fuchs; of the ear, under Gruber and Polizer; of the nervous system, of the throat and chest, under Schroter and Chiari; surgery under Billroth, syphilis under Fingar, and gynaecology in the wards of the Allgemeines Krankenhaus in the Josefstadt. "Comprehensive though the plan of work was," no

* *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology.*

† "The Leckie-Mactier Fellowship consisting of the interest of £2000 is awarded to Bachelors of Medicine of not more than 3 years standing. It is tenable for three years. The examinations comprise written reports and commentaries on medical, surgical, and gynaecological cases in the University Wards of the Royal Infirmary, and written examinations in Midwifery, Medical Jurisprudence, and Public Health. Every holder of the Fellowship must before the expiry of his tenure, transmit to, and if required read publicly in the presence of the Medical Faculty a communication embodying the result of original observation or historical research in some department of Medicine." (*Edinburgh University Calendar*).

part of it was done in a slipshod or perfunctory fashion. German lessons taken from Keilhaupt occupied his mind as completely when engaged on them as did his studies on the nervous system. Concentration, promptness and perseverance were then, as to the end, the chief characteristics of Bruce's method and work." *

Mercifully there were moments of relief, and Vienna had other associations than those of work. "Bruce and I," writes the late Sir Sims Woodhead, who was then a fellow student, "kept together in Vienna where, naturally, we had many interests and pursuits in common. We had with us a number of introductions, not only to Professors, but to others. Many of the other Edinburgh men, some twenty in number, obtained similar introductions, but, apparently, did not present them as (I know they will excuse me for saying this) they wished to be as free as possible to go and come, and to have no ties that might interfere with their work or excursions. Bruce and I, wishing to see something of the home life of our Viennese hosts, presented these introductions; and I need scarcely say that Bruce was a *persona grata* to all with whom he came in contact. His interest in everything that was going on, his self-contained but cheery manner and buoyant spirits, gained the favour of all; and I can never be sufficiently grateful for the fact that I was associated with him. At the end of our sojourn all agreed that we had chosen the better part; for we came to the conclusion that our Viennese hosts must have suspected that not we alone had been provided with introductions, for they made every effort to show us that our confidence in their hospitality was not a vain thing. Invitations to suppers, concerts, the opera, club balls—it was carnival time—poured in on us; and much private hospitality was tendered. It really appeared as though these good people were anxious to show our colleagues what they had missed by not availing themselves of the opportunities afforded them by their introductions; and those who knew Bruce can well imagine how he used to chuckle as, taking our meals at Lintzenmeyer's, he would pawkily suggest that 'perhaps they had something better on' than some gorgeous entertainment to which we had been bidden. I can honestly say, however, that none of this entertainment was allowed to interfere with the main object of our visit to Vienna though it rendered that visit very much more enjoyable and in many ways more profitable." Another fellow-student of those days was Dr Vincent Bowditch of Boston; who evidently shared alike in their

* *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology.*

studies and in their revels. He speaks of gaining in Vienna through his fellowship with Bruce, "many memories not only of strenuous and inspiring labours, but of pleasant interludes, of social functions enjoyed, of real friendships made and cemented—memories which stand out as red-letter records in even the brightest periods of life." After Vienna he visited in turn Heidelberg, Frankfort, and Paris. At Frankfort he came under the spell of Professor Weigert, who greatly helped him in his studies on the central nervous system.

His Home Life.

On 22nd December, 1881, when he returned from the Continent, he was married at Hilton House, Woodside, Aberdeen, to Miss Annie Louisa Connell, daughter of Lieut. William Alexander Connell of the Bombay Army. * With his wife he settled in a home at 13 Alva Street, Edinburgh, and commenced general practice. His was a most congenial union. "In his home," says Sir Robert Philip, who wrote the obituary account of Bruce in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal,* "he was very happy. An Aberdonian in Edinburgh he returned to Aberdeen for his bride. It is but a year or two since the silver wedding came round; and at his table, to a small party of particular friends, he told of twenty-five years of continual happiness and how he owed them to his wife."

Seven children were born to them, of whom four still survive—two sons and two daughters. † The eldest son, Alexander Ninian, elected to study medicine, and like his father, also specialised in Neurology. ‡ The second son died when a boy of nine. The third

* Lieut. Connell was a native of Langholm where he received his early education. After studying at the Royal Military College in Edinburgh, he sailed for India in 1846, being appointed to the 1st regt. of native infantry. He was subsequently given a command in the Camel Corps. In 1848 he was present at the seige of Moult Moultan, receiving a medal. Not very long afterwards he received a staff appointment as executive engineer in the Belgian Collectorate. He loved to hunt in the Jungles, and sent many trophies home. His death at the early age of 25 was deeply deplored. "In India he left many friends, and not a single enemy." Mrs Bruce, though born in India, was early sent to this country to be educated, and stayed with Mrs Anderson in Old Aberdeen. Dr Bruce's acquaintance with her thus dated from his school-days in the "Gym."

† Their family consisted of:—Alexander Ninian, born 25th November, 1882; James Milne, born 15th September, 1884, died 8th April, 1893; Annie Louisa, born 27th June, 1886; Vincent Connell, born 13th April, 1888, killed in France, 16th March, 1916; Walter Marshall, born 21st April, 1890; Mary, born and died 18th June, 1891; and Hilda Gertrude, born 13th March, 1893.

‡ Alexander Ninian was educated (as were his brothers), at George Watson's College. He studied at the University of Edinburgh, and after a brilliant career graduated M.D. and D.Sc., specializing like his father in the Science of Neurology. He has indeed in some respects followed literally in his father's footsteps, having succeeded him as editor of the *Review of Neurology and Psychiatry*, and having been appointed

son, Vincent Connell, was an especially lovable boy; and, electing to study law, was called to the bar in 1913. The following year the Great War broke out. He joined up as a private, and received a commission in the 5th Gordon Highlanders. On 26th March, 1916, he was killed at Neuville St Vaast.* The fourth son, Walter Marshall, has followed shipping as a career.† Of the daughters one died in infancy. The eldest, Annie Louisa, married in 1913 Dr S. A. Kinnier Wilson, of Harley Street, London. The youngest, Hilda Gertrude, married in 1914 Mr George Martin Gray, solicitor in Peterhead.

Morison lecturer of the Royal College of Physicians for the year 1919. (See *infra* p. 207). He rendered distinguished service in the army during the Great War as a specialist on nervous and mental diseases, and was demobilised with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the R.A.M.C. He has now returned to his practice in Edinburgh, and is a lecturer on Neurology in the University of that city.

* Vincent's life, so tragically cut short, was full of brilliant promise. In 1900 it became known that his uncle, James Bruce, Esq. of Inverquhomery, had by his will bequeathed to him his estate (see *infra* p. 220); and his father wisely sent him to Oxford. There he graduated B.A. in 1909 with first class honours in history. His coming of age in that year was a cause of great rejoicing to the tenants of Inverquhomery and Longside (see *infra* p. 221). He then returned to Edinburgh in order to study Law, and in 1913 graduated LL.B. On 20 March, 1914, he was called to the Scottish Bar. When the war broke out, he enlisted on 29th Sept. of that year as a private soldier in the 15th Royal Scots. Shortly afterwards (on 28th Oct.) he received a Commission in the 13th Royal Scots: but he applied for a transference to the 5th Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders (that being the Longside Regiment), and in December of the same year his application was granted. On 1st May, 1915, he crossed with his men to France. One night in March, 1916, when the 5th Gordons were holding the "Labyrinth" in the region of Neuville St. Vaast, the Germans exploded a mine beneath a section of the line where he was visiting his men. No trace of him could be found. "I fear," wrote Gen. Douglas Campbell, to his mother, "that there is no longer room for any doubt as to the fate of your gallant son—he was buried in the mine which the Germans exploded in the trenches held by the 5th Gordon Highlanders on the night of the 25th-26th March . . . Your son was a very brave officer . . . . If any dangerous work had to be done, he was always ready to volunteer. He was also a most conscientious and hard working officer, and whatever he took up he gave all his energies to it. . . . . His death is a great loss, not only to his battalion, but to the army." "Our noblest and best loved officer," wrote Major S. M'Donald. "Everyone loved him—men and officers alike." A Sicilian marble monument erected to his memory outside the old parish Church of Longside (where the death of the young 'Laird' evoked the deepest sympathy), bears these lines:—

> Many gave much, but he had most to give—
> All dreams, all hopes, life left an unrun race.
> For this has death, the kind and gentle King,
> Now set him first in place.

† Walter Marshall succeeded his brother Vincent as proprietor of Inverquhomery and Longside. After a school education at George Watson's College, and Merchiston Castle, Edinburgh, he entered a shipping office and went out to East Africa. During the war he returned to take his part in the struggle, and became an officer in the 6th Gordon Highlanders. In 1917 he was severely wounded while fighting around Albert; and on recovery, was transferred to the East African Rifles—his knowledge of the native language proving invaluable. On being demobilised, he returned to the shipping office, and is presently stationed at Zanzibar.

In June, 1899, Dr Bruce removed to 8 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, which became more and more an abode of domestic felicity and hospitable entertainment. His wife's capability relieved him of any anxiety regarding the children or household arrangements, and she nobly seconded him in his endeavours to make his practice paternal in character rather than "a business." His friends were always welcome; and doctors from the country, no less than distinguished physicians from abroad, were always sure of a hearty welcome and a hospitable meal. "No. 8" came indeed to be a kind of Mecca for all interested in the advancement of neurological science.

Early Appointments—M.D.

For the first year and a half after his return from the Continent Dr Bruce acted as private assistant to Dr Argyll Robertson, and during that time was present daily in the ophthalmic wards of the Royal Infirmary. The experience was utilised by him for an article on "Ophthalmology," which he contributed to the Encylopaedia Britannica. Very reluctantly—for he liked Dr Argyll Robertson and his work under him—he resigned this assistantship, in order to devote his entire attention to the study of Pathology and the practice of Medicine.

On the score of production and of appointments which aided him in his research work, his action was more than justified. In 1882 he was made a Member of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and the following year was elected a Fellow. He subsequently became a member of the Examining Board. He also received an appointment on the medical staff of the Western Dispensary, and was made non-resident clerk to the Assistant Physicians—doing daily duty for nearly a year in the out-patient department. For a time also he filled the post of "interim" Clinical Tutor in the University Wards of the Infirmary. In 1887 he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. His thesis on that occasion was "Studies in the Development of the Medulla Oblongata and Spinal Cord"—an epitome of his researches on the central nervous system, to which he had been stimulated by Bevan Lewis, and in which he had received such fruitful help from Weigert. For this Thesis ("as one would have expected," says Sir Leslie Mac-Kenzie) he received a gold medal—"the highest honour the University can confer upon its graduand Doctors of Medicine."

Lecturer on Pathology.

Bruce had now a standing in his profession, and soon became known as a practitioner of no mean power—"he devoted himself to the life of the physician which was his great ideal." He also began to lay up those vast stores of knowledge which were to fit him for the work of a specialist, his chief attention at this time being given to pathology. In 1883, when Dr Buist resigned his lectureship on Morbid Anatomy at Surgeon's Hall, Bruce was elected his successor. During the first session 4 students attended his classes, but the numbers rapidly increased. During the academical year 1889-1890, no fewer than 154 students enrolled, exclusive of 40 who attended special courses on the Histology and Pathology of the Nervous System. In November, 1885, he was appointed (along with his friend, the late Sir Sims Woodhead), Pathologist to the Royal Infirmary; and in May, 1890, Pathologist to the Royal Hospital for Sick Children. His Infirmary appointment he retained until 1892, when he was made Extra-Examiner in Pathology in the University. Subsequently he was also appointed Pathologist to the Longmore Hospital for Incurables. These appointments gave him "access to a wealth of material which he knew well how to use. Not a few difficult chapters in medicine were enriched and clarified by these labours."

How keen he was on the study of pathology at this time may be judged from the testimony of his Infirmary colleague. "Bruce was one of the original members of the Edinburgh Pathological Club. He was present at the dinner at which the formation of the Club was determined on July 22nd, 1886; and took part at the first meeting of the Club held on Wednesday, November 24th, 1886. We had many conferences with Sir John Batty Tuke on this matter; and, as the first Secretary of the Club, I had constant opportunities of observing how great a stay Bruce was to the Pathological school of that period. Always alert, well informed as to what was going on, and actively engaged in research work himself, he was indeed a very pillar of the Club."

His interest in Pathology was lifelong. In 1896 he published a translation of the well-known text-book on Pathology by Professor Thoma of Dorpat. This work was regarded as one of the foremost continental contributions to the subject. It revealed considerable erudition and originality, and represented the accumulated views of

one of the keenest intellects and most able minds on this subject, being an epitome of the author's career in pathological instruction and research. Bruce was early impressed by it, and decided to make an English translation, so that it might be available to English readers. The greater part of the translation was done during his holidays—he had also the assistance of the late Dr Jessie Macgregor, who acted at that time as his secretary. When it appeared, the book was hailed with acclamation by the profession, and many reviewers expressed their gratitude to the translator. The translation itself is regarded as one of outstanding merit, the most difficult and complex German sentences being rendered into clear and lucid English. *

"Days when hopes were more plentiful than ha'pence."

In those early days, nevertheless, when he was making a name for himself, life was an uphill pull, for his toil elicited but a scant return. Only the young physician who has passed through the mill can appreciate the difficulties which he had to face. "In his early career," writes Sir Leslie MacKenzie, "he must have had many a hard day. He told me once how the consultants of his junior days would ask him out to do any post-mortem examinations, and compliment him 'on the extraordinary enthusiasm of you scientific fellows,' but they never offered him a fee! They conveniently forgot that he had to live as well as to think. But there was no bitterness in Bruce's composition. His kindliness broke through and modified his whole life."

Indeed it was in virtue of this quality he made headway. People saw the depth and appreciated the modesty of the young practitioner —it became their delight to honour him. "He quickly emerged from general practice, and plunged with that undividedness of interest which was a leading characteristic into pathological and neurological research."

Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh.

On 13th October, 1890, he was appointed Fifth Assistant Physician in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh—the first of a series

* "This work, which has been admirably translated by Dr Alexander Bruce, forms a handsome volume and is furnished with abundant illustrations of a high type of excellence. . . . . In extent and profundity it deserves a place in the front rank of pathological writings. . . We are grateful to the translator and publisher for the introduction of so admirable a treatise into English literature."—Abstract from review in *Lancet*, 1896, ii., p. 243.

of appointments which culminated in his becoming Third Ordinary Physician four years before his death. * These appointments carried with them the duty of lecturing to the students on Clinical Medicine. It was his second teaching appointment, as he had already been lecturing for several years at Surgeons' Hall; and in 1896 his own College of Physicians, recognising his splendid work in the field of Neurology, added to his teaching labours by making him Morison Lecturer on Mental Diseases. He was eminently fitted for these posts. "When promoted to the position of Physician to the Royal Infirmary, and lecturer on Clinical Medicine," writes Sir Robert Philip, "he brought to the problems of the bedside an uncommon store of exact knowledge—physiological and pathological. He was in the best sense a learned physician. Fortunately for his students and his patients, his learning remained fluid and ready of application. Accuracy of clinical observation he demanded from his students as he demanded from himself. Often he would lament the declension of self-training in the clinical wards of the Infirmary. He yearned to see men soak themselves in clinical material." †

He certainly spared no pains to secure the best results, for his patients and for his students. Each forenoon he attended the Infirmary, and went the round of his wards. The students gathered to his side, and he quietly proceeded from bed to bed. As thoroughly and as considerately as if applying treatment in his own home, Bruce noted the requirements of his patients and prescribed for them. Then he gave the students the benefit of his discoveries; and pointed out to them with a minuteness and knowledge which compelled interest the salient features of each case, asking them to verify for themselves each ascertained result. A "walk round" with Bruce was an education in itself—both as regards method and material.

One proposal which he made in 1902 as physician to the Infirmary deserves especial mention, viz.—that a certain number of beds might be set apart for the treatment of incipient and transient cases of insanity. A committee, with Professor Rankine as convener, was appointed to consider the subject, and reported favourably; but nothing was done. The difficulty which faced the managers was one of accommodation. They could not reduce the number of beds devoted to the treatment of other kinds of cases; and at the moment they were not in a position to contemplate a scheme of extension. Dr Bruce's

* For full particulars of apointments held by Dr Bruce in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, with dates, see Appendix C.

† *Edinburgh Medical Journal.*

proposal is nevertheless interesting; as it shows that in the matter of "Psychiatric Wards" (now regarded as well-nigh indispensable in the treatment of mental trouble) he was also a pioneer.

A Teacher.

As a teacher, Bruce possessed the best qualifications. Knowing his subject thoroughly he was never at a loss, and his sense of quiet power impressed his students, and gave them the utmost confidence in him. They knew that they were amassing proved data which would stand them in good stead in a difficult hour, and they gave him studied attention. There was no ostentation in Bruce's methods. A quiet gleam of humour now and again lit up his discourses, but he taught as much by his own example as by his words—a judgment in one sentence from him often settled a point on which others might have elaborated for an hour. "As a teacher he showed the invincible clarity that comes only of mastered facts and theories. He did not let the details of his own special investigations overload his clinical teaching. . . . His thoroughness of method and his unostentatiousness of manner were warmly appreciated." * "Whether at the bedside, in the laboratory, or in the classroom," writes his fellow-student, the late Sir Sims Woodhead, "Bruce was an ideal teacher. Sound in method and principles, sure of his facts, clear, concise, and deliberate in exposition, he convinced his students at the point of demonstration and argument. . . . . One felt that here was a teacher, not born indeed, but trained in the best school of accurate method and of unbounded, if restrained, enthusiasm." †

Dr. Bramwell states that there was no one for whose teaching powers he entertained a "greater admiration." "A shrewd and original observer," he writes, "precise in his methods as an anatomist, thorough and most painstaking in his examination of a case, didactic and strictly scientific in his teaching, dogmatic in his opinion yet scrupulously careful never to overstep the conclusions warranted by facts observed, ever ready to listen to the opinions of his juniors, he never lost sight of that broad outlook which constitutes the art of medicine. Dr Bruce possessed at the same time a grave and impressive manner which inspired confidence, and underlying this, a sparkle of humour, coupled with a kindly disposition and an obvious

* *Lancet.*
† *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology.*

sympathy with the human side of life, which, added to the qualities already mentioned, made him what he was—a popular teacher and successful consultant." * The "grave and impressive manner" referred to by Dr Bramwell was undoubtedly one of the secrets of his great influence—men felt they were listening to a teacher entirely free from "humbug." The late Sir Thomas Fraser, who justly claims to have had with him a long friendship dating from the very beginning of his professional life, † says that "it constituted one of his attractions as a teacher, commanding the attention of his hearers, and conveying to them something of the high importance which he attached to his subject matter." "Few men indeed," he writes, "excelled him as a clinical teacher. He was a master in his exposition of the intricate symptoms of an obscure case of brain or other nervous disease, clear in his summary of its essential features, and suggestive in his comments." And this didactic power bore fruit in days long after the classroom was a thing of the past. "It was not remarkable," adds Sir Thomas, "that these personal qualities, as well as his knowledge derived from the close observation of cases of disease and from his original and elaborate investigations, should have gained the confidence of the practitioners of medicine whom he had trained. For many years his advice was in request at the bedside and in the consulting room." ‡

A Consulting Physician.

In the consulting room he was supreme. The quiet manner, which was sometimes lost on students of rougher calibre, was there appreciated at its true value; and his patients, as they came to know him, loved and trusted him. They knew that what was uppermost in his mind was their interest and welfare, and that what was humanly possible he would do for them. His sympathetic manner won their ready confidence. After a few enquiries as to their general health, he would minutely investigate the cause of their trouble and nothing escaped him—generally he was able to anticipate his patient in the symptoms of his disorder. But he was never flurried and never showed his anxiety. Where a cure was possible, he spared no pains

* Review of Neurology.

† "As a student," wrote Sir Thomas, "he was my class assistant; as a young and highly distinguished graduate, resident in my wards; and, subsequently, a colleague teacher of clinical medicine and examiner in that subject—also a co-official medical adviser to a public company." (*British Medical Journal*).

‡ *British Medical Journal.*

to effect it. "As a consultant," writes Sir Leslie MacKenzie, "Bruce brought to each case all his quiet powers of analysis, sure-footedness, and speculation. Once I took a friend to him for some nervous trouble. It was an education in method to watch the application of systematised knowledge to the special peculiarities of the individual. He spent a leisurely hour out of a busy day going from point to point, and fitting the idea to fact. The mind of the somewhat excited patient gradually slid into the same quietness as possessed the consultant himself; and when we came away, there was a happier and more satisfied man. This is a tale repeated by many others." * "To his patients both in hospital and in private," writes Dr J. H. Harvey Pirie, † "he was ever the beloved physician. His services were much in demand, and to all he gave his best ungrudgingly. Many of his patients were of the type to whom the personal element in the physician is everything." ‡

His Contributions to Neurology.

In 1892 he published his first book—"Illustrations of the Mid and Hind Brain." The publisher was Pentland, Edinburgh. It was an expansion of the thesis which he had submitted for his M.D. degree, and together with his "Topographical Atlas of the Spinal Cord" (published by William & Norgate, Edinburgh, in 1901), represents his largest and most important contribution to neurological science. Both books deal with the anatomy of the nervous system. Convinced by his studies that a thorough knowledge of the various nerve tracts was essential to successful treatment of pathological cases of the brain and spinal cord, Bruce set himself the task of investigating these nerve tracts minutely, and of securing illustrations of their appearance at certain stages in the development of the human foetus and also in a normal human adult. The first book, as he states in the preface, is really an "Atlas . . . designed primarily for the use of students of Neurology who are commencing for themselves the practical examination of the difficult region included between the lower end of the Medulla Oblongata and the nucleus of the origin of the third cranial nerve." The second has a different scope, and is more ambitious in

* *Lancet.*

† Dr Pirie, a native of Ellon, acted for a time as Dr Bruce's assistant. He was with him in that capacity when Dr Bruce died.

‡ Not only did his private practice as a consultant steadily increase, but his services as a consulting physician were sought more and more by hospitals and public institutions. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

intention and treatment. It is, as its title states, an "Atlas of the Spinal Cord," designed "to provide representations of sections regarded as typical of each of its segments," with a view to determining the relative arrangement of the grey and white matter, the distribution of the motor nerve cells, and other features which may serve for the identification of any segment. Bruce describes in the preface his method of procedure:—

> "A spinal cord from an adult who was free from any sign, symptom, or post-mortem evidence of any disease of the nervous system has been selected. It has been fixed and hardened by a process which allowed the nerve cells and the myelin of the nerve fibres to be equally well stained in separate sections. The cord has then been divided into its various segments, and each segment cut throughout its entire length into serial microscopic sections of uniform thickness. Two series of sections were prepared—the one to illustrate the arrangement of the nerve cells, and the other the shape of the grey matter characteristic of each segment."

No pains were spared to secure accuracy both of illustration and description; and the books remain to this day 'classics' on their subject—treasure houses of accurate information from which all subsequent investigators in the same field of knowledge have been able to borrow freely.* All Bruce's work indeed was like that—reliable and sound. Sir Leslie MacKenzie once told the present writer that even a talk with Bruce on any point, medical or otherwise, was like consulting an encyclopædia of approved scholarship. One got the information one

* The Reviews were most appreciative. When "A Topographical Atlas of the Spinal Cord" appeared, the *Lancet* wrote:—"The aim of the author in this work is to set out in a pictorial manner the features of sections at each level of the spinal cord in such a manner as to facilitate the indentification of the level of any particular section. It is thus a work which appeals more particularly to the specialist, and like all such works it is apt to miss the wider appreciation to which it is in every way entitled. No one who has not attempted such work can properly appreciate the industry and skill and artistic excellence which have been given to the work, and the author is to be congratulated on having produced a book which will be used daily in each neurological laboratory, and, we venture to think, will be most cordially appreciated. The plates are marvels of photogravure, as the sections must have been examples of great manipulative skill, and no praise is too great for the care which the author has taken to render the work in every way accurate and complete." (*Lancet*, 1901, ii, p. 1681). The *Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal* wrote:—". . . . The particular anatomical features that this atlas serves to illustrate have hitherto been comparatively neglected, but their great importance, more especially as a means of identification of the various segments, is here amply proved. The work cannot fail to be of great utility, both in the pathological laboratory and in the class room." (*Scot. Med. and Surg. Jour.* 1901. viii., p. 280).

wanted in brief, concrete form; and if Bruce once committed himself to a statement of fact, one could depend upon it absolutely. *

The value of these volumes and of his research work generally—a host of articles and contributions scattered through various medical and scientific journals—is acknowledged by all. † One writer states:—"His contributions to the literature of neurology were very numerous, being marked specially by the care with which pathological lesions are investigated and described. The chief characteristic of his work was thoroughness; and in the preparation of these published reports of cases no labour, whether of bedside observation or of microscopic work, was spared." An article in "Nature" is equally emphatic:—"It was characteristic of Dr Bruce that he should undertake pioneer research work into the minute anatomy of the Brain and spinal cord. It is with this work that his name perhaps will be most associated. . . . Numerous researches on the nuclei of the cerebral and spinal nerves, on cranial nuclei, and on the nerve fibre connections of these, we owe to him. A notable example of this work is 'Distribution of the Cells in the Intermedio-Lateral Tract of the Spinal Cord,' a research which must form the basis of all subsequent work on the subject."

His Place in Medical Science.

The following appreciation of Dr Bruce from the pen of an eminent neurologist, who was once one of his pupils, sums up very justly alike the character of his research work and the place which he holds in medical science.

* In the course of the same conversation, Sir Leslie MacKenzie gave me a vivid description of certain cases in which Dr Bruce's knowledge and skill triumphed over immense difficulties—even though uninitiated in the mysteries of medical science, I could not help being impressed. He told me of one case where the symptoms had baffled more than one doctor, and where Bruce, after a careful examination of the patient, gave it as his opinion that the cause was a haemorrhage in a certain group of fibres in the spinal cord about the 9th or 10th dorsal vertebrae. His diagnosis proved correct—a marvellous piece of inference which could only have been made by a master. Even more interesting was the description which he gave of Bruce's excitement when the spinal cord of that patient was subsequently examined under the microscope. When the spot had been reached where the mischief centred, a delighted "Ah!" escaped him. "I could have stood on my head," he said. Exactly what he had foretold was laid bare.

† These include:—Descending Degeneration of the Lemniscus (*Brain* 1893); Congenital Absence of Corpus Callosum, (*Proc. Roy. Soc. Ed.*, 1888); Case of Progressive Muscular Atrophy in a Child (*Ed. Infirm. Reps.* Vol. I.); Three cases of Chronic Poisoning by Bisulphide of Carbon (*Trans. M.C. Soc. Ed.*, 1884); Syphillitic Nodose Periarteritis, (*Ib.* 1894); Distribution of Cells in Intermedio-Lateral Tract of Spinal Cord, (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Ed.*, Vol. 45, pt. 1), etc. For full list of publications see Appendix D.

"In attempting to form a just and adequate appreciation of the honoured position of Dr Alexander Bruce in the relatively small and select company of those who by scientific research have helped to advance neurology to the place it holds securely in medicine to-day, we should bear in mind that he was essentially an organic neurologist and a firm believer in the value of the clinico-pathological method. Convinced of the indispensability of exact anatomical knowledge as the foundation stone of neurological progress, and incapable by nature of accepting half truths and plausible theories, he conceived and carried through successfully schemes of research work in which morphological and pathological accuracy was the keynote. He never ceased to 'think anatomically.' Thus, for example, impressed by the peculiar features of the cells of the intermedio-lateral tract in the spinal cord, he saw at once that for an authoritative study the investigation of the whole cord in a series of consecutive sections was imperative; and, undaunted by the magnitude of the task set him by his own imagination, he proceeded to cut a normal cord into no less than some 6000 serial sections, and counted, not once or twice only, the cells of the tract above named in each section, with the result that finality is stamped indelibly on this magistral contribution to nervous anatomy. At a conference in London at which Dr Bruce made his communication on the tract the present writer was sitting beside the late Sir Victor Horsley, himself a giant in the neurological world, and heard the latter mutter in a low tone of voice, at the conclusion of the paper, 'That's a wonderful piece of real research.' It was the same with other anatomical investigations of earlier years; if not always on so ambitious a scale, of course, they exhibited the same feature of minute accuracy and comprehensiveness combined, and little indeed has ever been modified in the light of subsequently derived information. Dr Bruce showed, further, a striking ability in knowing precisely what of many subjects to select for examination, what would be helpful for later studies, what would lead to genuine advance, and his *flair* in this connection never failed him. He could distinguish unerringly the 'dead end' from the research pregnant with possibilities, and the result has been that there is scarcely one of the innumerable contributions he made to scientific neurology which has failed to elicit commendation or receive cordial appreciation from those who came after to work in the particular fields concerned. To the lay mind the force of this may possibly not appeal, but those who are familiar with the truly enor-

mous output of contributions in neurology to-day and who have occasion to mark the relatively small proportion of papers to which the epithet 'fundamental' may be justifiably applied, will understand the greatness of the mind of whose activities the above can be said with truth.

"On the pathological side, moreover, as already hinted, Dr Bruce's work was characterised by the same features of minuteness of investigation and width of grasp, features forming an irresistible combination when difficult problems have to be tackled. His latest research, that on the pathology of the common nervous disease 'disseminated sclerosis,' may be said to constitute 'the last word' on the subject as it did, tragically, constitute his own 'last word.'

"It is true that to-day the growing point of neurology has rather moved away from pure anatomo-pathological research. Obviously there must come a time when the anatomy of the nervous system, *i.e.*, the structural or morphological anatomy, will reach a kind of terminus, and the younger generation is being instructed. and rightly so, more along the lines of knowledge of 'function-patterns' in the neuraxis than of anatomical patterns; for some, therefore, it may be that the patient and painstaking study of structure seems scarcely worth while. Recent years, again, have witnessed a passing of the emphasis from the importance of morbid anatomy or morphological pathology to that of biochemistry, from the study of 'states' to that of 'processes.' Under these circumstances it may be that the magnificent anatomical work of Dr Alexander Bruce may perhaps fail to make its appeal; but we cannot believe that such will ever, in fact, be the case. For he was no mere anatomical pedant; on the contrary he had the breadth of view and the catholic outlook of the true savant; among the select coterie of creative British neurologists his place is in the first rank. His work is not for one moment to be judged solely by the criterion of printed output or even of enduring value; it lives and will continue to live in the minds of those who were his students, in whom he planted the sacred seed of the love of knowledge for its own sake, who in their turn have been able to add to the sum of neurological doctrine, and who will count it their greatest honour to hand on to others still unknown the inspiration they derived from association with one who was through busy years ever their guide, philosopher, and above all, their friend."

His Industry.

Unfortunately he worked too hard. Overwork was indeed the defect of his quality. The habits which he had formed as a student, he never relaxed through life; and when he had once made a plan, he adhered consistently to it—never abating his diligence, and only altering it in cases where he thought it might be improved. His determination was wonderful; and no trouble was too great, no work too arduous. Even his hobbies can scarcely be said to have afforded mental relief. He loved history and was especially fond of collecting books on Mary Queen of Scots. Old Edinburgh also interested him; and he used to rummage about and collect not only books on the subject, but engravings of the city and of old town land-marks as these appeared in bygone days. The books made quite a feature of his library; even as the engravings, hung round about the walls of his dining-room, gave it quite an old-world character. He certainly had his 'off' days; and when free, no one entered with more zest into his recreation and sport. His principal recreations, as stated by himself, were "golf, shooting, cycling, and travel." "If he worked hard," writes Sir Robert Philip, "it was not because he could not play. Years ago, one lovely morning in June, I remember once going with him round the Balgownie golf-links, redolent with the scent of gorse and thyme—a perfect summer day. As he pressed the turf with fondness—'We should do this once or twice a week,' was his eager cry. He shot, he fished, he tramped, when he found time." *

Alas, the difficulty was to find time; for where work was concerned, he had a conscience which was adamant, and he refused to spare himself. His industry indeed was the marvel of his compeers, and all of them remarked it. "Dr Bruce was a strenuous worker"; and it was only by a systematic economy of his time that he was able to keep abreast of his multifarious duties."† "His scientific curiosity," writes Sir Leslie MacKenzie, "was untiring as his capacity for work. Work was his passion. . . . More than once after talks with him, I felt that he was encroaching too much on his physical reserves. He never relaxed the pressure of his student days, and none but his fellow-students can know what that meant." ‡ Sir Robert Philip, in the article above quoted, admits the defect of his friend—admits it

* *Edinburgh Medical Journal.*
† *Nature.*
‡ *Lancet.*

in order to praise! "Bruce was an integral part of the living working school. When old Edinburgh men foregathered, and the familiar question, 'How goes Edinburgh?' had passed round, another question commonly asked was, 'And Bruce as hard at it as ever?' It was he largely who gave to Edinburgh her distinctive place in neurology. He was one of the men enquired about by strangers who knew Edinburgh from the distance." * It is enough to say that Dr Bruce had his vindication. A friend once told me that he dared to reproach him for doing too much, and warned him that he might prematurely end his life. "I know the risks too well," was the quiet answer, "but sometimes it is a duty to take these risks."

Review of Neurology and Psychiatry.

In 1903 he founded the *"Review of Neurology and Psychiatry,"* and acted as its editor until his death. This was one of the most important undertakings on which he entered in his later life. He saw that the subject to which he had devoted his best years demanded for its proper expiscation a journal to itself; and taking counsel with, and gathering round him, a band of able men who were equally keen to give the science of neurology its due place in academic and medical study, he succeeded in launching the first number in January, 1903. To the new publication he devoted an immense amount of time and energy. It contained, in addition to reviews of all standard books on the mind and brain, original articles on any interesting aspect of the subject; and he not only beat up workers to contribute, and arranged for the proper presentation of abstracts and various reviews, but wrote many papers for it himself. † The issue indeed which notified his

* *Edinburgh Medical Journal.*

† "The aim of the *Review* was to provide a 'Centralblatt' in English which should contain short, original communications, and provide abstracts and a complete bibliography of recent work on neurological subjects." (*Nature*).

"The Review appears in the first week of each month, and extends from sixty to eighty pages according to the amount of matter available. Each number contains short original articles, or preliminary communications, abstracts of the most important original papers which have recently been published in every department of neurology and psychiatry, reviews of books and a bibliography of all accessible recent articles, as well as occasional digests of recent progress in knowledge of special subjects.

The original articles or preliminary communications extend ordinarily from half a page to twenty or thirty pages. The abstracts are, as far as possible, made by those working at or specially interested in the subject to which they refer, and are published as soon as possible, after the appearance of the original paper. As a rule an endeavour is made to abstract all important papers that have appeared in the month previous to that in which the matter of the Journal is made up—thus the January number consists mainly of references to work published in November and so on. The bibliography is exhaustive and up-to-date." (*Advt. of Review*).

death to the world (July, 1911), contained also a reprint from the *Journal of Pathology* of a brilliant paper on "The Relations of the Lymphatics of the Spinal Cord," which he had written in conjunction with James W. Dawson, M.D. The circulation of the Review steadily increased, and before his death it had a wide circle of readers both at home and abroad. He was succeeded in the editorship by his son Ninian; and under his fostering care the Journal has continued to maintain its position. To-day, despite the loss of foreign readers during the period of the war, its circulation is greater than ever.

Honours.

No one could do the splendid work which Dr Bruce did and escape recognition. Of the Association of Physicians of Great Britain he was an original member. In 1883 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in 1886 a fellow of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, and in 1900 a corresponding member of the Neurological Society of Paris—a very special compliment. The Physiological Society and the Neurological Society of London also added his name to their lists of members. Of the Royal Society of Edinburgh he served for eight sessions as a member of Council. He did not seek honours, however. "The honours which came his way came spontaneously." Apart from the early successes to which allusion has been made, he received appreciative recognition in many directions. In 1890 he divided with Mr Lawson Tait the Cullen Prize, in the gift of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, "for the greatest benefit done to practical medicine."* The same society, as has already been mentioned, made him Morison Lecturer in 1896. The Royal Society of Edinburgh awarded him in 1906 the Keith Prize for a paper on "Nerve tracts and connections of the special nerves in the spinal cord, mid and hind brain." Under Lord Haldane's scheme for the re-arrangement of the Territorial Forces, he received the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the R.A.M.C. In 1909 the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of LL.D. No greater compliment could have been accorded to a scientific worker than that paid him by the Dean of the Faculty of Law in presenting him for this degree: "His work and writings in the department of neurology are known wherever neurology is studied, and in some

*I.e., the greatest benefit done during the quadrennial period since the prize was last awarded.

respects may be regarded as epoch-making. It is not too much to say that there is no neurologist in Britain whose work has better stood the test of time." *

His Social Gifts.

Socially he was much loved. Though an eager student and by nature something of a recluse, no one knew better the value of good fellowship, or sought more consistently to do his duty as a citizen and friend. He was a member of St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, and an intimate companion of its worthy minister, the Very Rev. Dr Macgregor. On 22nd April, 1883, he was ordained to the eldership, and few members of that illustrious Kirk-Session were more faithful in their office. † As medical adviser to the Standard Life Assurance Company, and later to the Scottish Widow's Fund,

* The LL.D. degree of the University of Aberdeen was conferred upon Dr Bruce in the Mitchell Hall at the Spring Graduation ceremony on 6th April, 1909. The Right Hon. Lord Strathcona, the aged Chancellor of the University, presided on the occasion, and there was an unprecedented demand for tickets of admission. In presenting Dr Bruce, Professor Irvine, K.C., Dean of the Faculty of Law (in addition to the sentence above quoted), said: —"In Dr Alexander Bruce the University welcomes one of her graduates who has achieved eminence in the great profession of medicine, Dr Bruce's career as a student was one of quite exceptional distinction. In this University he was First Bursar in Arts, and, winning many honours by the way, graduated in Arts with First Class Honours in Classics. In the Medical Faculty of the University of Edinburgh he was again *facile princeps*, and gained all the highest distinctions open to students of medicine. For many years he has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession, and is universally recognised to be one of the foremost physicians in Scotland. He has held a series of important appointments in the Edinburgh Medical School, and is now a lecturer on the Practice of Medicine, and Physician in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. As a teacher he has been highly successful in ministering to the needs of students and in initiating and directing them in the methods of scientific observation. Amid his other occupations he has never ceased to devote himself with untiring enthusiasm to the prosecution of original enquiry, and his labours in this field have been crowned with rich results. These results are embodied in a long series of brilliant memoirs on Medical subjects." Others who received the LL.D. degree along with him were:—Mr Allan Rennie Andrew, H.M. Inspector of Schools; Sheriff Crawford; and Mr Pittendrigh MacGillivray, R.S.A.

† On 5th June, 1911, St. Cuthbert's Kirk Session met and approved a minute of sympathy on the occasion of his death which was conveyed to his widow and family. That minute speaks of him as "one of the most devoted and revered elders," and states:—

> "Dr Bruce's eminence in the sphere of medical science renders his death a unique loss to the scientific world; while his reverent devotion to the Church, his calm and earnest counsel in all matters affecting its welfare, his deep and generous interest in the prosperity of St. Cuthbert's, and the rare spiritual charm of his Christian personality, leave a blank which cannot easily be filled."

He was indeed a churchman in the best sense—eager to promote every good cause, and generous in helping every scheme calculated to further the church's welfare. For many years—at a period when time was precious to him and rest needful—he gave his services as superintendent of St. Cuthbert's Sunday School. He also placed his professional experience at the disposal of the Foreign Mission Committee. On several occasions he represented the presbytery of Deer in the General Assembly.

he also mingled freely with the "stalwarts" of the city and was esteemed by them for his breadth of outlook and bonhomie. * He was one of the original members of the Pathological Society,† and the late Sir Sims Woodhead tells us that at the annual meetings, after the strenuous labours of the day (to which he contributed valuable material and suggestion), he "was always in great form at the dinner —his geniality, shrewdness and humorous stories were ever welcome." In his home he was an ideal husband, father, and host. His home was his sanctuary, and no rough voice of the world ever intruded there. "His private life," writes Sir Robert Philip, "was simple, quiet, cheerful. His qualities of heart were no less esteemed than his qualities of head. A numerous band of friends were deeply attached to him. He enjoyed the social board with congenial company. Whether as host or guest, he made things go brightly. How wonderfully the interesting face with its reserve, bordering on solemnity, would light up with a smile or with the play of humour. He enjoyed a good story, and told one well, his serious features and language only adding zest."‡ With one friend, or student who had won his confidence, he was at his best. Then he threw aside all reserve, and out of the rich stores of his mind and heart gave forth his treasures freely. It was my privilege to meet him but once or twice. On one of these occasions he invited me to come and see him in Edinburgh. I called in the morning and was shown into his consulting room—a beautiful, bright room, handsomely furnished as a library, and fitted with the latest electric appliances, etc., for the treatment of nervous troubles. "Come and dine with me at 7 o'clock," he said, "I will be free then." I went, and spent a very happy and educative evening. After dinner he took me up to his "den." I found it was his real workshop—a room similar in size to his consulting room, with an even bigger library. One had to steer a pathway, however, over a carpet covered with manuscripts and books with which he was working; though these, I noticed, were carefully and even neatly arranged. "Now we will be comfortable," he said; and having drawn up our chairs to the fire,

* To the Standard Life Assurance Company he acted as Assistant Medical Officer for many years, and relinquished the post in August, 1910, when he was appointed Chief Medical Officer to the Scottish Widows' Fund in succession to Dr Claud Muirhead. He did not apply for the post, but the appointment was offered to him, despite the fact that there were several able applicants in the field. "The Directors and officials of that Society had a very high appreciation of his services." (*British Medical Journal*).

† The Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He was also a member of the Edinburgh Pathological Club.

‡ *Edinburgh Medical Journal.*

he proceeded to "pour wisdom" into me—frank expressions of opinion about men and manners, a minister's work, and the work on which he himself was engaged. I was impressed among other things by his regard for the late Dr Macgregor (he was indeed enthusiastic in his praise); and by a remark which he made regarding the possibility of establishing communication with the spirit-world. "Only the foolish," he said, "will dare to dogmatise." On another of these occasions he did me the kindness of opening our annual Sale of Work in connection with Cruden Parish Church, and all were impressed by his earnest plea for increased support of the Church's Medical Mission. That was in 1910, when his health was beginning to show signs of uncertainty. A remark which he made to me afterwards in the garden has, looking back upon it, a pathetic significance. "Keep out of the city," he said, "as long as you honestly can. When you are on the wheel you have got to go round; and sometimes its grind is merciless." In ten months the grind of the city had become innocuous to him. "As a colleague," writes Dr J. H. Harvie Pirie, "Bruce enjoyed the highest respect of his professional brethren; but to those who were privileged to know him intimately there was revealed in addition to his uprightness of character a general charm of manner, a great depth of quiet humour and a tenderness which much endeared him and made his loss deeply felt." * Perhaps indeed the finest word picture of him which we possess is one from the pen of Sir Leslie MacKenzie, which reveals him as a friend. "I cannot forget," he writes, "the quiet gentle voice, the masterly grip of detail, the untrammelled scientific scepticism that was ready to discard a disproved idea, the intellectual passion that drove him forward. Bruce was a strong, shy man without show, and the deserted street at midnight with one sympathetic hearer was all to his mind. The rush of life made these talks all too rare, but he had the winning kindliness of spirit that drew us all to him. He had the genius of friendship. He was the least patronising of men. He lived in a mental world where only quality of mind and character counted." †

Inverquhomery.

In 1904 a new interest was added to his life through the acquisition by his third son, Vincent, of the estate of Inverquhomery in Longside.

* *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*
† *Lancet.*

This estate, as already mentioned, * had been acquired by his grand-uncle, Mr James Bruce, merchant in Middleton of Inverquhomery, who made a fortune in shipping and who bought it from Mr George Ferguson of Pitfour in 1827. The purchaser bequeathed it to his nephew, also Mr James Bruce—Dr Bruce's uncle—in 1862. By his will this Mr James Bruce directed his trustees to convey the estate to his grand-nephew, Vincent, on the death of his wife, Mrs Diana Bruce. She died on 10th April, 1904, when Vincent was still a minor in his sixteenth year. Every one expected that the estate would be left to Dr Bruce himself; but some pique on the part of his uncle made him direct it to Dr Bruce's third son.

Vincent, wise beyond his years, referred at his coming of age to this "apple of discord which had been thrown into the midst of the family" and boldly spoke of his grand-uncle's will as "terribly vexing and disappointing." "It would have exasperated most men," he said, "and soured many. His father, however, although overlooked, never showed the slightest irritation. It had only served to draw them closer together." Referring to his brother, Ninian, he stated, that "although he was his elder brother, and had also been deprived of his proper position in relation to the estate, he was happy to say that fact never made any difference between them. Ninian was endowed with mental ability, and was already well on the way to a successful career." "One might almost think," he added modestly, "that the late Mr Bruce had a shrewd idea of our respective abilities." †

The estate, which is charmingly situated, extends to 1500 acres, and comprises, in addition to the mansion house, a large home farm, thirteen arable farms, and the greater part of the village of Longside. It includes some of the richest soil in the county of Aberdeen. To put the property in order for his son was therefore a joy to the Doctor, and he devoted much of his leisure during the summer months to its over-sight and administration. The family went to Inverquhomery as a rule each year for part of their holiday, and the Doctor came to be familiarly known throughout the district as "the laird."

* *Supra*, p. 194. Strictly speaking there were two estates, Inverquhomery and Longside. They were bought by Dr Bruce's granduncle at different times; but the mansion house being on the estate of Inverquhomery, the proprietor of both estates came to be familiarly spoken of as "the laird of Inverquhomery" merely.

† Report—*Buchan Observer*, 27th April, 1909.

Mr James Bruce seems to have been a man of eccentric habits and uncertain impulses. His temper was especially trying; and the story is told that at his funeral after the grave-digger had filled in the grave, he smoothed it over with his spade and was heard to mutter: "Aye, aye, laird, that's the hinmost (last) job I'll dae for ye. Aye; and its the only yin, ye havna found faut wi'."

He acted the part of a good proprietor—being keenly interested in all questions relating to farming, and eagerly solicitous for the welfare of the tenants. Sir Leslie MacKenzie tells us that the last conversation he had with him turned on "cheap houses for working men in the country." "He could not rest unless his people had the best in life and housing that he could afford to give them." * In 1908 he was elected President of the Buchan Club; and a very happy day was that in which he entertained the members at the mansion house of Inverquhomery, and delivered his presidential address on "The Last Earl Marischal." † A yet happier occasion was the coming of age of his son Vincent in 1909. On 20th April, Longside and Inverquhomery were *en fete*. The village and neighbourhood were gay with bunting—banners flying from house and tree tops; and a large gathering of the tenants and friends assembled at the mansion house to do honour to the young heir and his father. A dinner was afterwards held in St. John's Hall in the village, and the local doctor presided over a gathering of fully 100, and presented the young landlord with an illuminated address from the tenantry and friends. Nothing could have been more touching or beautiful than the reference which Vincent made to his father in the speech in which he returned thanks: "He could not," he said, "help thinking that the warmth of the reception given to him that day was largely due to the fact that he was the son of his father. . . . His father was a Buchan man born and bred; his heart was always in Buchan. . . . More and more he felt the strength and help and inspiring influence of his father. . . . During the years of minority his father had borne upon his shoulders the burden of looking after his interests, and had given to them his time, care, and thought most ungrudgingly." The proceedings, from first to last, were characterised by felicitous speech, sanity of outlook, and kindly friendship. Dr Bruce in acknowledging the toast, "Other members of the family," contented himself with saying that, "Whatever could be done for the good of the estate, the tenants, and feuars, would be done by him and his boy."‡

The secret of Dr Bruce's happiness and charm on these occasions was his affection for the place and people. To quote Sir Leslie

* *Lancet.*

† This address, a most interesting historical memoir, which shows how well Dr Bruce was equipped for literary production and research work in other fields beside medicine, was published by the Buchan Club in "The Book of Buchan" (Peterhead, 1910) and forms Chapter II. of Section VI.

‡ Report—*Buchan Observer*, 27th April, 1909.

MacKenzie again—"He was an Aberdonian through every fibre of his nature. He loved the life of the farm—the life that gave him his fine career. To that he went back as to an unfailing friend. Like Faust he had the deep conviction that all our knowledge and our experience, and our infinitely rich adventure of life, have this for their true end—to redeem a waste land from the sea and make the life of our fellow-men more warm and happy."

His Final Labours.

His labours on behalf of neurological science multiplied rather than diminished towards the end of his life. In 1907 he laid the public under a debt of gratitude by publishing a little book entitled "Letters to Nervous People" — a translation of "Psychotherapeutische Briefe" by Prof. H. Oppenheim of Berlin. The medical profession received it most kindly; but its interest lay in the appeal which it immediately made to laymen of all kinds. Many people who suffered from nervous complaints told Dr Bruce afterwards how much they had benefited by a perusal of these calm, clear expositions. The first edition was quickly sold out and had to be reprinted.

In 1909 he conceived a bolder project—viz., the idea of translating the same author's "Text-book of Nervous Diseases." The labour was certainly justified, for Oppenheim's Text-book is "one of the best works ever written on the subject;" * and the translation "in the view of those who speak with authority was quite on a level with the original."† But all agree that the great strain put upon him by this arduous literary undertaking, along with the heavy work involved in his consulting practice and his duties in the Infirmary, was responsible for his ultimate breakdown: and one cannot but share the regret expressed by the late Sir Sims Woodhead "that even a part of the strength of a man of his outstanding ability and ripe judgment should have been used up in the performance of a task that might have been accomplished sufficiently well, if not so well, by other workers."

Research work and original composition made demands upon him not less exacting. He began to apply himself to the study of "Disseminated Sclerosis," a peculiar form of nervous disease which had attracted his attention at an early stage of his career. This disease,

* *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology.*

† "The translation is worthy of the original—one cannot say more in the way of praise. The English speaking race already owe much to the translator for his brilliant and painstaking work in neurology. The debt has been greatly increased by his present labours."—*Brain.*

once thoroughly established, invariably proceeds to a fatal termination, although remissions of symptoms may occur from time to time; and it is specially characterised by a gradually increasing degree of paralysis. Many of the unfortunate sufferers ultimately find their way to one or other of our incurable hospitals.

This study focussed his attention on the important part played by the lymphatics in disease processes within the central nervous system. Time was not given him fully to develop his views on the role of the lymphatics; but he was satisfied "that the casual agent of this disease fell especially on the lymphatic system, and that the lesions were due to the gradual infiltration of the tissue with toxic lymph passing from a central focus."

He immediately applied his knowledge to work done on various subjects which had at first seemed somewhat unconnected, exercising untiring patience in his investigations. He had as co-worker at this time Dr James W. Dawson, one of the most brilliant neurological histologists in the country; and Dr Dawson tells us that Bruce's scientific zeal was such that to be associated with him was in itself a sufficient reward. "For there were times" he writes, "when those who worked under him in the laboratory seemed to share with him, and have their enthusiasm kindled by, the clear view which he possessed of fundamental and ultimate truths. They then recognised how he had long before seen the far reaching significance of the smallest detail, and had patiently related all the details to one another and brought them to a focus. He hailed with greatest delight each new observation that seemed to realise his premonitions." "We felt" adds Dr Dawson, "that we had been in contact with a man whose work had let in a ray of light into a dark place. As he told us of his thoughts, there was a significance in his words which the words alone did not, and could not express." *

In conjunction with Dr Dawson, Bruce prepared for the press a paper "On the Relations of the Lymphatics of the Spinal Cord," which appeared in the *Journal of Pathology* in 1911. † But it was left to Dr Dawson to complete his work; and this was well and ably done in two important papers which appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*—"Multiple Neuromata of the Central Nervous System, their Structure and Histogenesis" (1913), and

* *Review of Neurol. and Psychiat.* 1911, Vol. IX, p. 359.
† See *Supra*, p. 39.

"The Histology of Disseminated Sclerosis" (1916). In both Dr Dawson makes mention of his indebtedness to Dr Bruce, and explains the relationship of Dr Bruce to the material which he handles.

His Last Illness and Death.

It was while busy with these labours that the end came. In August, 1910, Dr Bruce finished his translation of Oppenheim's "Text-Book of Nervous Diseases," and went off for a two months' holiday. But the following winter his health gave way. In December he showed unmistakable signs of nervous exhaustion, and in March he went south for a rest to Bournemouth, Dawlish, and Torquay. He returned at the end of April little, if at all, better for the change. Latterly it became known that he was suffering from a deep-seated malady which was sapping his strength, and that there was no hope of remedy. He bore the physical depression, which resulted, bravely and uncomplainingly. On Sunday, 4th June, he passed peacefully away.

By his own desire he was buried at Longside, Aberdeenshire. On Wednesday, 7th June, a memorial service was held in St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, which was conducted by the two collegiate ministers of that charge, the Rev. George G. D. S. Duncan and the Rev. W. Lyall Wilson. In attendance were representatives of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, the Royal College of Physicians, and the University of Edinburgh. The following day, 'midst universal mourning, he was laid to rest at Longside. In addition to the members of his family, the Rev. Dr Wallace Williamson (minister of St. Giles, and for long Dr Macgregor's colleague in St. Cuthbert's), Dr Byrom Bramwell (President of the Royal College of Physicians), Dr Edwin Bramwell, Sir Robert Philip, Dr Pirie, Professor Muir (of Glasgow), Mr James Abel, and Mr R. N. Ramsay, travelled from Edinburgh in order to be present. On arrival at the station they were met by representatives of the University of Aberdeen (including Principal George Adam Smith, and Professors Cowan, Nicol, Cash, Reid, and J. Arthur Thomson), representatives of his old arts class at Aberdeen, 1870-74 (a little group of six including the chairman and secretary) and friends representative of almost every public institution in the north. In the village of Longside every blind was drawn, and a very large concourse of mourners assembled to pay a last tribute of respect to one who had brought honour and fame to the neighbourhood. Slowly the

cortege made its way to the Parish Church, where an impressive service was conducted by the Rev. R. Henderson, minister of the Parish, Rev. R. Mackay, minister of the Epicopal Church, and the Very Rev. Dr Wallace Williamson. The hymns "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Now the labourer's task is o'er," and "O God, our help in ages past," were sung; and after the benediction had been pronounced, the coffin was carried to the family vault in the old church (a building dating from 1620 and used as a burial place since the erection of the new church in 1836) and reverently interred. Mr Henderson read the burial service, and Dr Williamson offered prayer. "On Thursday, 8th June," writes one who was present, "Edinburgh restored to Buchan the mortal remains of her adopted son, crowned with laurels. He was followed to the grave by his three sons and a crowd of mourners, and was laid to rest by loving hands in the family vault beneath the old church of Longside. The whole country seemed in mourning as the village scholars lined the roads, and over the mansion house of Inverquhomery the flag floated half-mast. The burden of sorrow which his premature death has brought to his home is shared by many friends, by the Edinburgh school, and by medical science all the world over. '*Ars longa, vita brevis.*' His strenuous life and his early death serve sadly to underline the familiar words." *

. . . . . .

"If he had only lived!" It is useless speculation, yet one can't help making it. For Bruce himself, doubtless, the next dozen years would have meant recognition long overdue; and a series of appointments worthy of his achievements—who knows? But after all these are minor matters. What one cannot help regretting is that a life, so nobly inclined and so eminently endowed, should have been cut short at the zenith of its strength and powers, and when it seemed fully equipped to help and bless the world. But even that regret is transitory. For Bruce's real work was done in the obscure period of early life when he made himself master of his subject, and in those lonely hours of toil when he grouped together the results of his knowledge and gave them to the world. And his real triumph is to be found in the place of affectionate regard and unbounded admiration, which he holds to-day in the hearts of many disciples, who have entered into his labours, and who know his worth as a teacher and

* Sir Robert Philip in *Edinburgh Medical Journal*,

a man. An earthly success could only have dimmed the glory of that achievement.

Here's the top-peak; the multitudes below
  Live, for they can, there:
This man decided not to Live but Know—
  Bury this man there?
Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
  Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
  Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
  Loftily lying
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
  Living and dying.

APPENDIX.

A.—Genealogical Table of the Bruces of Inverquhomery and Longside.

NINIAN BRUCE, of Newseat, Peterhead, the adjoining parish to Longside married Margaret Keillo, and died about 1699 leaving issue—

William who succeeded to Newseat and whose line is believed to be extinct.

Ninian of whom we treat.

NINIAN BRUCE, of Knockleith, Longside, and subsequently of Tiffrie in the same parish. He married 1690 Margaret, daughter of John Watt of Knockleith, and by her had the following issue (with others who died young)—

Elizabeth, bapt. 13 June, 1695, married James Davidson of Auchlee, and had issue.

William, bapt. 9 May, 1700. Went to Mains of Pitfour. Married Mary Mundy (who died 1774), and died 1783, leaving issue)—

William, b. 1743, m. Isabel Pirie, died s.p. 1827.

Christian, m. Jas Davidson.

Isabel, m. Jas. Keith of Netherthird, son of the Laird of Bruxie, and had 14 children.

Ann, m. — Simpson.

A Daughter, m. — Pirie.

Alexander, bapt. 26 Jan., 1703 (of whom presently).

Margaret, bapt. 26 Jan., 1750, m. William Tait, with whose family the late Archbishop of Canterbury was connected.

Christian, bapt. 30 Jan., 1707, m., 1736, Alexander Cumming of Crichie, and died s.p.

ALEXANDER BRUCE, bapt. 26 Jan., 1703, settled at Nethertown of Inverquhomery, m. 25th July, 1734, Margaret daughter of William Cumming of Longside, and died 25th April, 1785, leaving issue—

Elizabeth, bapt. 29 May, 1735. From her the late Hon. Sir George Deas (Lord Deas), Lord Justiciary of Scotland, 1854-85 was descended.

Margaret, bapt. August, 1736.

James, born 9 April, 1738 (of whom presently).

Christian, bapt. March, 1740.

William, born 22 Jan. and bapt. 24 Jan., 1742. M., 29 Nov., 1787, by Rev. John Skinner to Isabel, daughter of Alexander Mundy of Inveredie, and had issue—

Alexander, Rev. M. A., born 11 Oct., 1788, for 47 years minister of St. Andrew's Banff; m. Dorothea, daughter and co-heir of Capt. Robt. Bartlett, of Afforsk, Banff, by whom he had issue; died 31 May, 1872.

Jean, b. 4 March, 1791, died unmarried 1 Oct., 1817.

William, born 5 February, 1793; m. at Trevie on 14 April, 1831; died 1 Jan., 1868, leaving issue—

William Paton, born 19 Aug., 1832.

James, b. 23 April, 1825, d. 3 May, 1853.

Alexander, b. 23 Nov., 1836, of Bedford Road, Toronto, Canada, K.C., M.A.; m. in 1863 Agnes, daughter of Rev. Ralph Robb, and had issue.

Isabel Mundy, b. 28 June, 1830, d. 6 Aug., 1856.
John Milne, b. 28 Sept., 1841, of Hamilton, Barrister-at-law; died unmarried, 1 Feb., 1878.
Isabel, b. 4 Nov., 1795, m. in 1825, to James Cheves of Clayhills, Aberdeenshire, and has issue.
James, b. 19 Sept., 1797, d. 30 Oct., 1813.
Alexander, b. 3 Dec., 1743.
Helen Bruce, b. 12 Aug., 1745.
June, 13 Nov., 1747.

James Bruce of Inverquhomery, b. 9 and bapt. 23 April, 1738; m. 19 Oct, 1779, to Barbara, daughter of John Gray, Auchinten, Cruden, by Margaret, dau. of John Ross. Died in 1820 leaving issue—

Margaret, b. 2 April, 1781; m. 1 Nov., 1800, to Gilbert Mitchell of Savock.
Barbara, b. 1783; m. 1806 Robert Scott and had issue.
Alexander, b. 13 June, 1785 (of whom presently).
James, b. 3 June, 1787, who acquired a large fortune as a ship-owner at Peterhead. He purchased from the Fergusons of Pitfour, the properties of Inverquhomery and Longside, and was a magistrate and Commissioner of Supply for Aberdeenshire. By his will, dated 12th Jan., 1858, he left the bulk of his property to "the poor of the Presbytery of Deer." This sum is now known as the "Bruce Bequest." His estates passed to his nephew James (see below). He died unmarried on 16 March, 1862, and is interred within the old Church of Longside.
Catherine, b. 1802, married 1825 Andrew Mitchell, nephew of Gilbert Mitchell of Savoch, above mentioned.

Alexander Bruce, b. 13 June, 1785. Became tenant of the farm of Millhill, Longside. Maried 27 June, 1812, to Mary, daughter of William Cowe, and died in 1850, leaving issue—

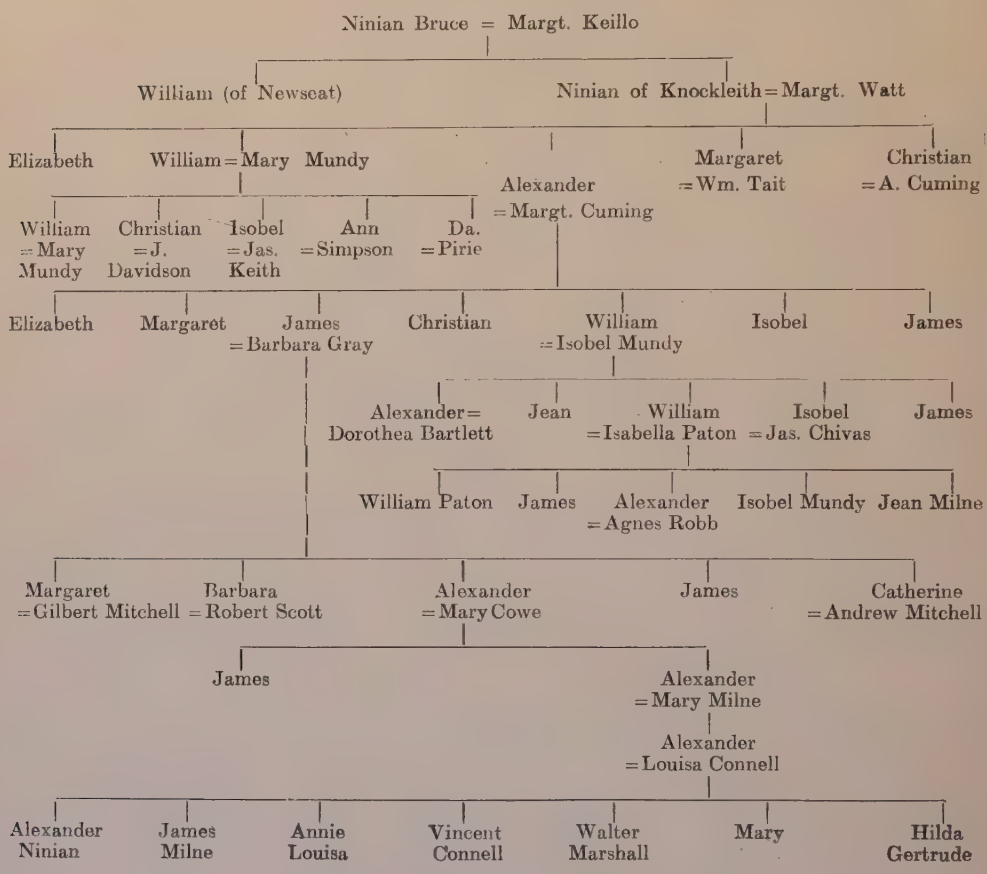
James of Inverquhomery and Longside, b. 12 Dec., 1818; J.P. of Aberdeenshire; m. 13 Dec, 1851, to Diana, dau. of Thomas Wheeler, and died s.p. 12 Jan., 1900.
Alexander (of whom we treat).

Alexander Bruce, b. 23 Oct., 1853. Succeeded his father in the farm of Millhill. M. 18 Oct., 1853, Mary, dau. of William Milne, Ardendraught, Cruden, and had an only son, Alexander (the subject of this sketch).

Alexander Bruce, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P.E., F.R.S.E., etc. B. 1 Sept., 1854; d. 4 June, 1911. M. 22 Dec., 1881, to Annie Louisa, dau. of Alexander William Connell, and had issue—

Alexander Ninian, M.D., D.Sc., etc., b. 25 Nov., 1882.
James Milne, b. 15 Sept., 1884; d. 8 April, 1893.
Annie Louisa, b. 27 June, 1886.
Vincent Connell, M.A., LL.B., b. 13 April, 1888. Killed in France, 26th March, 1916.
Walter Marshall, born 21st April, 1890; present proprietor of Inverquhomery.
Mary, born and died 18 June, 1891.
Hilda Gertrude, b. 13 March, 1893.

B.—Genealogical Tree of the Bruces of Inverquhomery and Longside.



C.—Record of Appointments held by Dr Bruce in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.

16 Nov., 1885.—Appointed a Pathologist.
13 Oct. 1890.—Appointed Fifts Assistant Physician for 5 years from date.
13 Nov., 1891.—Became Fourth Assistant Physician.
8 Oct., 1892.—Became Third Assistant Physician.
22 July, 1895.—Appointed Third Assistant Physician for one year from 13th Oct., 1895.
20 July, 1896.—Appointed Third Assistant Physician for one year from 13th Oct. 1896.
1 April, 1897.—Became Second Assistant Physician.
19 July, 1897.—Appointed Second Assistant Physician for 3 years from 13th Oct., 1897.
2 July, 1900.—Re-appointed for further period of five years from 13th Oct., 1900.
5 Oct., 1900.—Became Senior Assistant Physician.
1 April, 1903.—Appointed Junior Ordinary Physician for 5 years from date (under new rule as to Women Students' charge counting as a full charge).
1 Oct., 1906.—Became Fourth Ordinary Physician.
1 Sept., 1907.—Became Third Ordinary Physician.
1 April, 1908.—Re-appointed Ordinary Physician for 5 years from date.

D.—List of Publications by Dr Bruce.

BOOKS.

"Illustrations of the Mid and Hind Brain." Pentland, 1892.
"Topographical Atlas of the Spinal Cord." Williams & Norgate, Edin., 1901.
Translation of Thoma's "Lehrbuch der Pathologie." A. & C. Black, London, 1896.
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Translation of Oppenheim's "Psychotherapeutische Briefe." Otto Schulze & Company, Edin., 1907.

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"On the Connections of the Inferior Olivary Body." (*Lab. Reports, Roy. Coll. of Physicians of Edinburgh*, Vol. ii.).
"On the Segmentation of the Nucleus of the Third Cranial Nerve." (*Proc. Roy. Soc. of Edinburgh*, 1889).
"On a Human Cyclops." (*Proc. Roy. Soc. of Edin.*, 1891).
"On a case of Descending Degeneration of the Lemniscus, consequent on a Lesion of the Cerebrum." (*Brain*, 1893).
'Syphilitic Nodose Periarteritis." (*Edin. Royal Infirm. Reports*, 1894).
"Microtome for Cutting Sections under Spirit." (*Journ. Roy. Micros. Soc.*, 1895).
"On the Flocculus." (*Brain*, 1895).
"On a Descending Degeneration in the Posterior Columns in the Lumbo-Sacral Region of the Spinal Cord." (*Brain*, 1896).
"D'un Faisceau Special de la Zone Latérale de la Moelle Epinière. (*Rev. Neurol*, 1896).

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"On the Endogenous or Intrinsic Fibres in the Lumbo-Sacral Region of the Cord." (*Brain*, 1897).

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"A Contribution to the Question of the Origin of the Facial Nerve." (*Scot. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, 1898).

"A Contribution to the Localisation of the Motor Nuclei in the Spinal Cord of man." (*Scot. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, 1901).

(With Stuart M'Donald and J. H. Harvey Pirie) "A Case of Localised Doubling of the Spinal Cord." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat*, 1905).

(Ditto) "A Second Case of Partial Doubling of the Spinal Cord." (*Ibid*, 1906).

"Distributions of the Cells in the Intermedio-Lateral Tract of the Spinal Cord." (*Trans. Roy. Soc. of Edin.*, 1906).

(With J. H. Harvey Pirie) "A Plea for the study of the Intermedio Lateral Cell-System of the Spinal Cord." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.*, 1907).

(With J. H. Harvey Pirie) "On the Origin of the Facial Nerve" (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.*, 1908).

(With J. W. Dawson) "On the Relations of the Lymphatics of the Spinal Cord." (*Journal Pathol. and Bacteriol.*, 1910).

Clinical and Pathological.

"A Case of Cerebral Tumour." (*Brain*, 1883).

"Chronic Poisoning by Bisulphide of Carbon." (*Edin. Med. Journ.*, 1884).

"A New Portable Galvanic Battery." (*Edin. Med.-Chir. Soc. Trans.*, 1884).

(With Dr John Thomson) "A Case of Progressive Muscular Atrophy in a child with a Spinal Lesion." (*Edin. Hosp. Reports*, 1893).

"Rupture of an Aortic Aneurism into the Superior Vena Cava." (*Edin. Med. Journ.*, April, 1895).

(With Sir Thomas Fraser) "On a Case of Diabetic Neuritis." (*Edin. Med. Journ*, 1896).

(With Harold J. Stiles) "Drainage through the Fourth Ventricle in a case of Acquired Hydrocephalus." (*Scot. Med and Surg. Journ.*, 1898).

"A Case of Cerebellar Tumour, considered with reference to its Localisation." (*Scot. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, 1899).

"On a Case of Traumatism of Part of the Cauda Equina, complicated by Alcoholic Neuritis." (*Scot. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, 1900).

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(With Elsie M. Inglis) "Case of Cerebral Haemorrhage resulting from Deciduoma Malignum." (*Trans. Edin. Obstet. Soc.*, 1901).

"A Case of Double Paralysis of the Lateral Conjugate Deviation of the Eyes." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.* 1903).

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(With J. S. Fraser) "A Case presenting Ménière's Symptoms along with Facial Paralysis." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.*, 1910).

(With Theodore Shennan) "A Case of Acute Hæmorrhagic Meningitis due to Anthrax." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.*, 1910).

(With J. H. Harvie Pirie) "A Case resembling Myasthenia Gravis, with Peculiar Changes in the Nervous System." (*Rev. Neurol. and Psychiat.*, 1910).

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